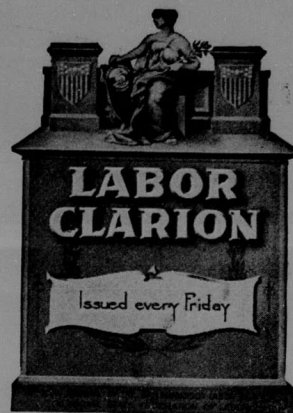
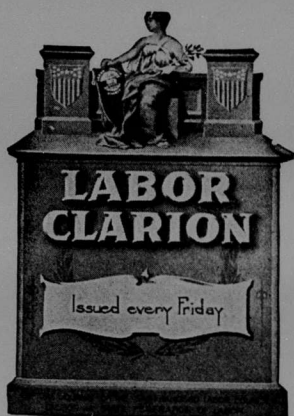
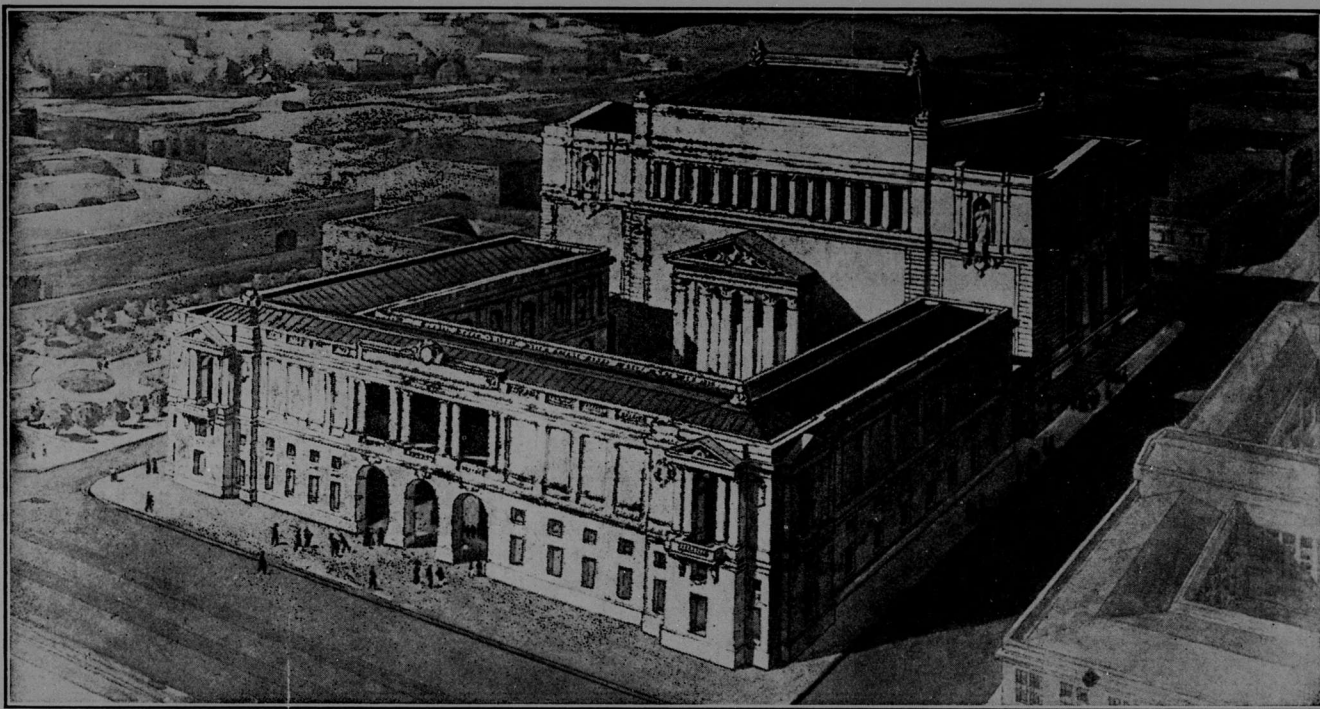




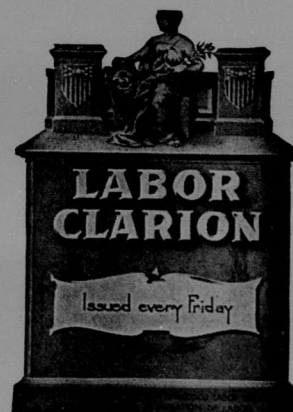
Labor Day



Proposed Memorial to San Francisco
World War Veterans



NINETEEN-TWENTY



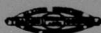
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LABOR CLARION

The Official Journal of the San Francisco Labor Council

VOL. XIX.

SAN FRANCISCO, FRIDAY, SEPT. 3, 1920

No. 31

Country Comes First

Our country always comes first in the thoughts and actions of citizens of the United States, because while the Nation lasts we have held out before us high hopes and great possibilities for future achievements in the direction of justice for the toiling millions, whereas if the country goes down beneath the iron heels of greed and selfishness all hopes are blasted and the possibility of even fighting for the right vanishes completely. If no other reason existed for Americans loving America and its free institutions these facts would furnish sufficient provocation for the most zealous interest on the part of every justice-loving citizen of the Republic. Those who preach doctrines contrary to this view are not striving to forward the interests of the great mass of mankind.

This Nation is not without its faults and its shortcomings, but neither is any other nation in the world, and, taken as a whole, the people of the United States are far in advance, so far as material welfare is concerned, of any other people on earth. This being true, we have just cause to be proud of our country while still struggling to make it even better in the future than it has been in the past. There is no room here for the sleeper or the sluggard, the traitor or the hypocrite, the knave or the fool. The time calls for red-blooded men who dare to stand for the right even though selfish and unreasoning millions stand against them. It will be a sad day for this country and suffering humanity generally when Americans allow themselves to be intimidated by those who have axes of any kind whatever to grind.

In this country the government is good or bad according to the action of the people. Here the people are, or should be, masters over their own destinies. They need serve nobody, rake nobody's chestnuts out of the fire, pass no laws contrary to their desires. In fact, the people are the government, the state, and when they reverence the state they pay tribute only to themselves. Here education is more widely spread than anywhere else in the world and under such circumstances if we have not, for the masses of the people, the best government in the world, then we must confess that democratic self-government is a failure and that the administration of an intelligent and benevolent autocrat would be better for us and better for every other people in the world. Are we ready to make such an admission? Is there any considerable number of people in this country who believe that we are incapable of governing ourselves and ought to turn the job over to those better qualified to render efficient service?

The men and women of the labor movement in this country surely can not be thus catalogued. They have faith in themselves and are willing to shoulder all the trials and tribulations and responsibilities and burdens that this faith may bring to them. They have no desire to shirk or dodge, scheme or maneuver to evade governing themselves even though at times the task may become irksome because of the blunders they are prone to make in working out the intricate problems of popular self-government.

Just now the people of this country are confronted with the necessity of selecting a new President, Senators and Representatives in Congress to act for them in governmental capacities for the next few years. The two great political parties have enunciated the principles their candidates are expected to follow and have also named the men who are to carry into execution the pledges set forth in their platforms. During the next few months literature will be circulated and speakers sent throughout the land to enlighten the people as to men and measures. The decision will then be left in the hands of the electorate of the Nation.

If men and women are guided in casting their ballots by intelligence rather than by prejudice they will get a good government. If, on the other hand, the masses are heedless and do not exert themselves in order to become equipped to cast an intelligent ballot, they will get a bad government. The old stereotyped assertion that all candidates and parties are alike and that there is no use in bothering about voting is the height of nonsense. It is the poison that kills democracy and should have no place in the minds of intelligent citizens. It is a potion drunk in by the lazy to account for their failure to know something and to excuse their hopelessness.

It is to be sincerely hoped that every member of a union will sweep aside all prejudices, become qualified to cast an intelligent ballot and go to the polls on election day and register his or her desires as to both men and measures. In no other way can democratic institutions be maintained, and, therefore, those who fall short in their duty will prove themselves unfaithful to the interests of humanity, as well as careless of their own welfare.

This is a year in which party loyalty should be of the very loosest character. Loyalty to the Nation and to its inhabitants is of much greater importance. Issues are to confront the next administration that are of transcendent importance to the people, issues that will, if not properly settled, bear directly upon the lives and activities of future generations. It is because of this fact that every citizen should be prepared to cast an intelligent ballot at the November election.

If the men and women of the labor movement are to be hide-bound partisans, if they are to continue to be guided by their prejudices rather than by their judgment, then they must be prepared to abide by the consequences. There is never much sympathy for the individual who has reached the age of maturity and who brings disaster upon himself through his own carelessness or lack of activity in his own interest. If you are alive, study the situation and make up your mind as to what you ought to do and then do it. There is no other way. You cannot be safe if you depend upon the other fellow to solve your problems for you. The things in this world worth having are worth a little effort. The fellow who is always looking for something for nothing is almost sure to die disappointed. See to it that you are not numbered among them.

PLATFORM ANALYZED

Upon the recommendation of the Executive Council and with the unanimous approval of the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Montreal, Canada, the proposals of Labor submitted to the committee on resolutions of the Republican party at Chicago for inclusion in the Republican platform were submitted in identical form to the committee on resolutions of the Democratic party in San Francisco, Cal., on June 29th, for inclusion in the Democratic platform.

The Executive Council authorized President Gompers and Vice-Presidents Valentine, Green and Woll and such other vice-presidents as might be able to go to San Francisco, to appear before the committee on resolutions of the Democratic convention meeting in that city.

On June 29, 1920, President Gompers and Vice-Presidents Valentine, Green and Woll appeared before the committee on resolutions of the Democratic National Convention and presented the prepared program of Labor's political demands. The committee was presided over by Senator Carter Glass.

The proposals were read by Vice-President Woll, after which President Gompers addressed the committee for a period of about thirty-five minutes. The committee listened with apparent interest to the reading of the formal proposals and to the address of President Gompers, in which he fully explained the position of the Labor movement and emphasized the conditions and causes prompting the submission of the proposals.

We present here in their order the proposals presented by Labor and the planks incorporated in the Democratic platform as adopted by that party convention in every case where there is any plank dealing with the subject.

The preamble to the Declaration of Labor's Demands is as follows:

Government and all civilization exist for the service of human beings and the promotion of their betterment. Such purposes are best achieved

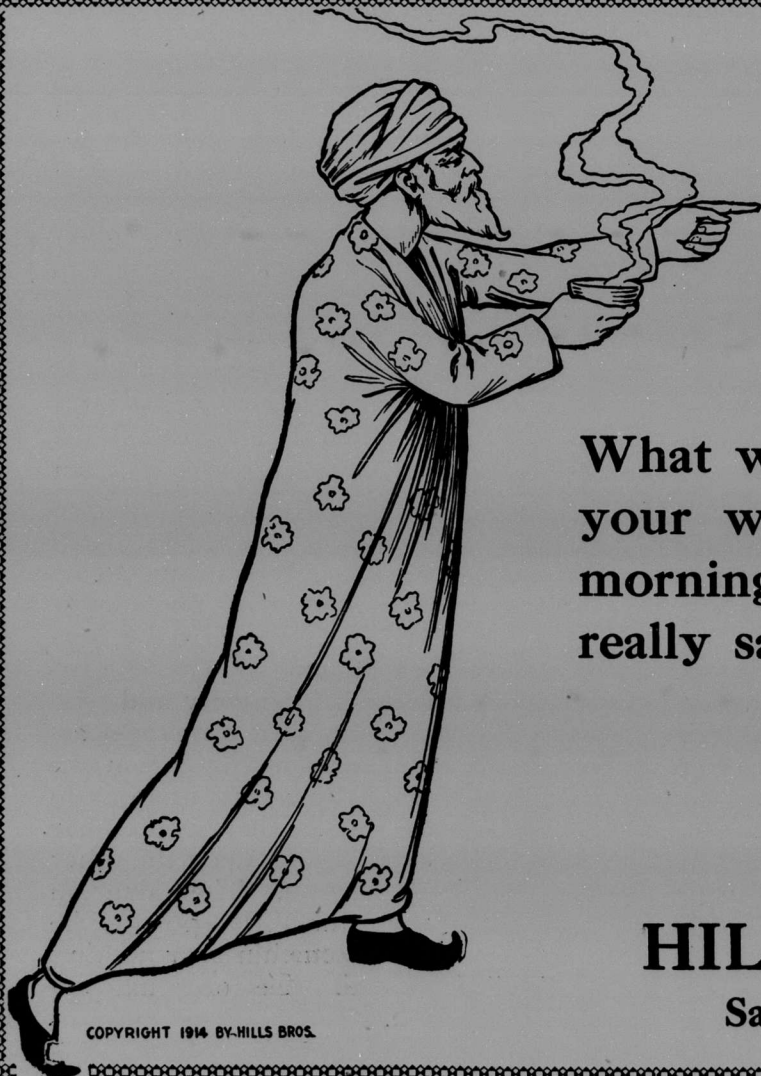
when those who are primarily affected by policies and methods have the power of determining them. Under such conditions only will there be relations of good-will between fellow citizens and a spirit of true patriotism essential to the best development and unity of our nation. There must be reason for the conviction that citizens can rely upon the government for impartial maintenance of rights and protection. Such an attitude can result only when principles of human welfare are made paramount to any other consideration. Experience of other countries and scientific information substantiate the contention that sweated industries, over-strained, long and burdensome hours of toil, tend to physical deterioration, loss of mental virility and consequent decreased producing power. Standards of life and work, daily hours of toil and wages have a direct relation to economic progress and development as well as to preparedness for national defense.

LABOR'S DEMAND—To promote industrial justice and tranquility and to insure uninterrupted production at its highest efficiency, the right of the wage-earners to organize into trade unions, to select their own representatives, and to bargain collectively, must be fully safeguarded.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—Labor, as well as capital, is entitled to adequate compensation. Each has the indefeasible right of organization, of collective bargaining, and of speaking through representatives of their own selection.

LABOR'S DEMAND—We pledge our party to maintain the federal law enacted by Congress, securing to the workers the legal right of voluntary association, for mutual protection and welfare, protecting their rights against unwarrantable issuance of writs of injunction, either prohibitory or mandatory, and guaranteeing the right of trial by jury in alleged contempt cases, committed outside the presence of courts.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—Labor is not a commodity; it is human. Those who labor have rights, and the national security and safety depend



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upon a just recognition of those rights and the conservation of the strength of the workers and their families in the interest of sound-hearted and sound-headed men, women and children.

COMMENT—While the language of the platform constitutes an endorsement of the labor provisions of the Clayton Act, there is no specific condemnation of the abuse of the writ of injunction in labor disputes. However, failure of the platform to endorse the injunctions secured through the efforts of Attorney-General Palmer in the miners' case may fairly be assumed to constitute repudiation of that action.

LABOR'S DEMANDS—Legislation which proposes to make strikes unlawful or to compel the wage-earners to submit their grievances or aspirations to courts or to governmental agencies, is an invasion of the rights of the wage-earners and when enforced makes for industrial serfdom or slavery.

We hold that the government should supply information, assistance, and counsel, but that it should not attempt by the force of its own power to stifle or to destroy voluntary relations and policies of mutuality between employers and employees.

We hold that public employees should not be denied the right of organization, the right of representation for the rectification of grievances and should not be denied political rights accorded to all other citizens.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—The nation depends upon the products of labor; cessation of production means loss, and, if long continued, disaster. The whole people, therefore, have a right to insist that justice shall be done to those who work, and in turn that those whose labor creates the necessities upon which the life of the nation depends must recognize the reciprocal obligation between the workers and the state. They should participate in the formulation of sound laws and regulations governing the conditions under which labor is performed, recognize and obey the laws so formulated and seek their amendment when necessary by the processes ordinarily addressed to the laws and regulations affecting the other relations of life.

Neither class, however, should at any time, nor in any circumstances, take action that will put in jeopardy the public welfare. Resort to strikes and lock-outs which endanger the health or lives of the people is an unsatisfactory device for determining disputes, and the Democratic party pledges itself to contrive, if possible, and put into effective operation a fair and comprehensive method of composing differences of this nature. In private industrial disputes we are opposed to compulsory arbitration as a method plausible in theory, but a failure in fact. With respect to government service, we hold distinctly that the rights of the people are paramount to the right to strike. However, we profess scrupulous regard for the conditions of public employment and pledge the Democratic party to instant inquiry into the pay of government employees and equally speedy regulations designed to bring salaries to a just and proper level.

COMMENT—The platform provisions here set forth are specific in condemnation of compulsory arbitration in disputes in privately-owned industry. There is a vagueness in the balance of the first two paragraphs. There is uncertainty as to what the platform means to convey in its reference to the obligation of the workers to the state and the proposal to find a substitute for the right of the workers to cease work when cessation of work is said to endanger the lives or health of the people.

With regard to employees in government service it will be noted that the platform declaration quoted at the outset of this analysis in response to the first of labor's demands sets forth the unqualified right to organization, collective bargaining and representation. The final paragraph of the declaration last quoted, however, implies methods in the settlement of disputes in government employment which can not be approved as a general statement of government policy.

LABOR'S DEMAND—The very life and perpetuity of free and democratic institutions are dependent upon freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage and association. We insist that all restriction of freedom of speech, press, public assembly, association and travel be completely removed, individuals and groups being responsible for their utterances and actions. These fundamental rights must be set out with clearness and must not be denied or abridged in any manner.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—We resent the unfounded reproaches directed against the Democratic administration for alleged interferences with the freedom of the press and freedom of speech.

No utterance from any quarter has been assailed, and no publication has been repressed which has not been animated by treasonable purpose and directed against the nation's peace, order and security in time of war.

We reaffirm our respect for the great principle of free speech and a free press, but assert as an indisputable proposition that they afford no toleration of enemy propaganda or the advocacy of the overthrow of the government of the state or nation by force of violence.

LABOR'S DEMAND—National preparedness as well as commercial development in keeping with the importance and the dignity of our nation, require that we shall have competent and able American seamen. We urge as essential to this purpose the vigorous enforcement of the Seamen's Act and the most liberal interpretation of its provisions. We are opposed to any minimizing of present provisions for the protection of seamen and for the safety of the traveling public.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—Absence of a pledge of vigorous enforcement of the Seamen's Act, which became law under the Democratic administration, is regrettable, and is scarcely compensated for by a declaration elsewhere in the platform as follows:

"We pledge the policy of our party to the continued growth of our merchant marine under proper legislation, so that American products will be carried to all ports of the world by vessels built in American yards, flying the American flag."

LABOR'S DEMANDS—One of the most important functions of the nation is to protect the health of every child. We declare that we must put an end to the employment for profit of children under 16 years of age.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—The platform declares that the present child labor law was enacted under the Democratic administration and sets forth the further declaration:

"We urge co-operation with the States for the protection of child life through infancy and maternity care, in the prohibition of child labor and by adequate appropriations for the Children's Bureau and the Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor."

LABOR'S DEMANDS—We demand that effective steps be taken immediately to relieve the people of the burden imposed by the excessive cost of living and to eradicate permanently the underlying evils, recognizing fully that no other issue is of deeper interest to the masses of the American people.

As a comprehensive program of relief and remedy we set forth these demands:

1. Co-operation should be encouraged as an effective means of curbing profiteering. To stimulate rapid development of co-operatives the federal farm loan act should be extended so as to give credit to all properly-organized co-operatives just as credit is now given to individual farmers.

2. We urge that the United States Department of Labor compile and issue monthly statements of the cost of manufacture of those staple articles which form the basis of calculation in fixing the cost of living.

3. As a means of aiding anti-profitteering measures the federal government should promptly investigate profits and prices. All income and other tax returns should be available for inspection.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—The high cost of living and the depreciation of bond values in this country are primarily due to the war itself, to the necessary governmental expenditures for the destructive purposes of war, to private extravagance, to the world shortage of capital, to the inflation of foreign currencies and credits, and in large degree, to conscienceless profiteering.

The Republican party is responsible for the failure to restore peace conditions in Europe, which is a principal cause of post-armistice inflation the world over. It has denied the demand of the President for necessary legislation to deal with secondary and local causes. The sound policies pursued by the Treasury and Federal Reserve system have limited in this country, though they could not prevent, the inflation which was world wide.

Elected upon specific promises to curtail public expenditures and to bring the country back to a status of effective economy, the Republican party in Congress wasted time and energy for more than a year in vain and extravagant investigation, costing the taxpayers great sums of money, while revealing nothing beyond the incapacity of Republican politicians to cope with the problems.

Demanding that the President, from his place at the peace table, call the Congress into extraordinary session for imperative purposes of readjustment, the Congress when convened spent thirteen months in partisan pursuits, failing to repeal a single war statute which harassed business or to initiate a single constructive measure to help business. It busied itself making a pre-election record of pretended thrift, having not one particle of substantial existence in fact. It raged against profiteers and the high cost of living without enacting a single statute to make the former afraid or doing a single act to bring the latter within limitations.

The truth is that the high cost of living can only be remedied by increased production, strict governmental economy and a relentless pursuit of those who take advantage of post-war conditions and are demanding and receiving outrageous profits.

We pledge the Democratic party to a policy of strict economy in government expenditures and to the enactment and enforcement of such legislation as may be required to bring profiteers before the bar of criminal justice.

In another plank in the Democratic platform the following dealing with this subject is found:

"We favor such legislation as will confirm to the primary producers of the nation the right of collective bargaining and the right of co-oper-

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ative handling and marketing of the products of the workshops and the farm, and such legislation as will facilitate the exportation of our farm products.

"We favor comprehensive studies of farm production costs and the uncensored publication of facts found in such studies."

COMMENT—The platform paragraph on co-operation responds largely to labor's proposal. In relation to the second proposal the platform calls for publication of costs of production on farms, but does not call for publication of costs of manufactured articles nor costs caused by middlemen. The platform is silent as to the third proposal and offers no substitute dealing constructively with profiteering but proposes the enactment and enforcement of such legislation as may be required to bring profiteers before the bar of criminal justice.

LABOR'S DEMAND—"Americanization of those coming from foreign lands, as well as our standards of education and living, are vitally affected by the volume and character of immigration.

"It is essential that additional legislation regulating immigration should be enacted, based upon two fundamental propositions, namely, that the flow of immigration must not at any time exceed the nation's ability to assimilate and Americanize foreigners coming to our shores, and that at no time shall immigration be permitted when there exists an appreciable degree of unemployment."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—The platform is silent on the general subject though in relation to Asiatic immigration it says:

"The policy of the United States with reference to the non-admission of Asiatic immigrants is a true expression of the judgment of our people, and to the several States whose geographical situation or internal conditions make this policy and the enforcement of the laws enacted pursuant thereto of particular concern; we pledge our support."

LABOR'S DEMAND—"We demand the observance and enforcement of all the federal maximum eight-hour laws and their extension to comprehend all civil departments of government."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—The platform refers to the passage of the eight-hour law under the Democratic administration, and further says:

"Laws regulating hours of labor and conditions under which labor is performed, when passed in recognition of the conditions under which life must be lived to attain the highest development and happiness, are just assertions of the national interest in the welfare of the people."

LABOR'S DEMAND—"We favor the enactment of a more comprehensive federal compensation law which will embrace all workers who can not be provided for by state compensation laws and we demand that workmen's compensation laws be amended to provide more adequately for those incapacitated by industrial accidents or occupational diseases."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—"Under this administration" was passed "the Workingman's Compensation act (the extension of which we advocate so as to include laborers engaged in loading and unloading ships and in interstate commerce)."

LABOR'S DEMAND—"We demand the enactment of legislation excluding from interstate commerce the products of convict labor."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—Silent.

LABOR'S DEMAND—"We demand the repeal of the labor provisions of the Cummins-Esch law."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—"The President's recommendation of return to private ownership gave the Republican majority a full year in which to enact the necessary legislation. The House took six months to formulate its ideas and another six months was consumed by the Republican Senate in equally vague debate. As a consequence the Esch-Cummins bill went to the President in the closing hours of Congress, and he was forced to a choice between the chaos of a veto and acquiescence in the measure submitted, however grave may have been his objections to it.

There should be a fair and complete test of the law until careful and mature action by the Congress may cure its defects and insure a thoroughly effective transportation system under private ownership, without Government subsidy at the expense of the taxpayers of the country.

COMMENT—The platform calls attention to the fact that defects exist in the Cummins-Esch law and pledges the Democratic party to their rectification. Inasmuch as the railroads are now under private



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ownership and operation and their employees no longer in government employ, it will be observed that in the third plank hereinbefore quoted the Democratic platform declares that "in private industrial disputes we are opposed to compulsory arbitration as a method plausible in theory but a failure in fact."

LABOR'S DEMANDS—"We declare that the Congress of the United States should take action to prevent the federal courts from continuing the usurpation of authority in declaring unconstitutional acts passed by Congress.

"We further urge that judges of all federal courts shall be elected by the people for terms not exceeding six years."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—Silent.

LABOR'S DEMANDS—"We declare our unalterable opposition to any exercise of force by the United States in compelling the Mexican people to meet unwarranted and unjust demands of those Americans whose sole interest is the exploitation of the people and the natural resource of the Mexican nation."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—The United States is the neighbor and friend of the nations of the three Americas. In a very special sense our international relations in this hemisphere should be characterized by good-will and free from any possible suspicion as to our national purpose.

The administration, remembering always that Mexico is an independent nation and that permanent stability in her government and her institutions could come only from the consent of her own people to a government of their own making, has been unwilling either to profit by the misfortunes of the people of Mexico or to enfeeble their future by imposing from the outside a rule upon their temporarily distracted councils. As a consequence, order is gradually reappearing in Mexico. At no time in many years have American lives and interests been as safe as they now are; peace reigns along the border, and industry is resuming.

When the new government of Mexico shall have given ample proof of its ability permanently to maintain law and order, signified its willingness to meet its international obligations and written upon its statute books just laws under which foreign investors shall have rights as well

as duties, that government should receive our recognition and sympathetic assistance. Until these proper expectations have been met, Mexico must realize the propriety of a policy that asserts the right of the United States to demand full protection for its citizens.

COMMENT—We are firmly of the opinion that our republic should not attempt to determine which laws shall be enacted by the people of Mexico and that our government should not constitute itself a censor of the international obligations of Mexico with relation to investors foreign to that country. The splendid spirit manifested in the first two paragraphs in the platform corresponds entirely with the demands of Labor with regard to Mexico, and sets forth a policy of international morality in keeping with the highest and best concepts of Americanism.

In summarizing, it is but fair to say that the Democratic platform marks a measure of progress not found in the platform of the Republican party. In relation to Labor's proposals the planks written into the Democratic platform more nearly approximate the desired declarations of human rights than do the planks found in the Republican platform.

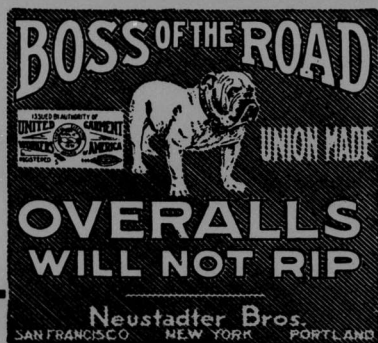
The delegation of the American Federation of Labor which appeared before the platform committee of the Republican party convention in Chicago, presented to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Montreal, the labor proposals which it submitted, and analyzed and compared these with the declarations contained in the Republican party platform. The convention by a unanimous vote adopted and approved that report. The convention authorized and directed a committee to appear before the Democratic national platform committee at San Francisco and to present the identical proposals to that committee with the instruction that a comparison and analysis should be made with the proposals and the declarations of the Democratic party. These we submit in the foregoing.

The men and women of labor of the United States and her liberty-loving people must judge between the declarations of these parties. The impending campaign and election for President and Vice-President, United States Senators and members of the House of Representatives is upon us and the citizenship of our country must determine its own

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course in electing those candidates for these offices who are most friendly disposed toward Labor, Justice, Freedom, Democracy and Humanity, and to defeat those who are less friendly or more hostile to these principles.

Labor of America is not partisan to any political party; it is partisan to principles, the principles of justice and freedom. It undertakes neither to dictate nor control the choice of the workers or the citizenship generally for which party or candidates they should vote, but it would be a palpable dereliction of duty did we fail to place the facts before the voters of our country upon the records of both parties and their respective candidates for public office.

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS.
JOSEPH VALENTINE,
WILLIAM GREEN.
MATTHEW WOLL.

LESS OUTPUT; MORE PROFIT.

Less output and more profit is the feature of a financial report by the American Locomotive Company. The past six months the company produced no more than 35 per cent of capacity and profits were \$200,000 in excess of profits during the same period last year. President Fletcher of the company expressed the hope that increased railroad rates will have a "stimulating effect on the railroads, which will result in greater service."

SAVE ON SCHOOL BOOKS.

By publishing its own school books Kansas has saved more than \$500,000 to date, Tom McNeal, member of the State Text Book Commission, told students of the State Agricultural College. "Not less than \$500,000 will be saved in the next three years on a geography now being published," Mr. McNeal said. "The book will sell for 50 cents a volume less than the same number of similar books published by commercial houses."



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History and Progress of Vocational Education Act

By ARTHUR E. HOLDER.

Observers of economic events during the past few decades are familiar with the short-sighted economic policies practiced by many employers and industrial managers of large corporations. Employers and workers alike have in recent years been confronted with new and rapidly changing conditions of employment. New policies were inevitable, and perhaps it was inevitable that they should be in many cases short-sighted. But short-sighted policies wherever adopted have tended to break down the ethics of skilled mechanics and even to destroy that natural pride of skill in their trades which is the very foundation of the creative impulse of all good workmen.

The mass effect of these short-sighted policies in the face of new conditions which seemed to impose, as an economic necessity, an increasingly minute specialization and a breaking up of trade skills into simple routine processes has been nation-wide impoverishment in the human factor in industrial efficiency. A persistent endeavor has been in evidence to train workmen as one-process specialists or special operators rather than to encourage a general training embracing all the essentials of trade skill as such skill should properly be defined.

The old apprenticeship system has been abolished or nullified in many trades or has broken down under the strain of competitive readjustments, and unrestrained competition, which is essentially short-sighted, has not forced the development of any adequate substitute for the old system of training.

It has become perfectly apparent that these tendencies have been accompanied by a train of many industrial evils.

Some observers attribute the evils which they note to the invention and perfection of labor-saving machinery, others to the finer division of

occupation in the trades, and still others, to a variety of new labor-saving plans and systems. The workmen whose interests have been most vitally affected have felt that deliberate efforts were being made to break down their independence, make them more docile and submissive, and virtually tie them to their jobs. They have felt that the new industrial systems of production put forth under such high sounding names as "standardization," "interchangeability," and "mass production," made possible a more complete domination of wage-earners by preventing them from mastering thoroughly the details of any trade.

New System and Its Penalties.

Trade unionists have been quick to recognize the unfortunate consequences for themselves and for society that must inevitably develop under the new schemes encouraged by those who favor ultra specialization of workmen on single operations besides most of such plans and purposes are wrong because they regard simply quantity production and are predestined to failure even as regards this single end of increasing output per man, and per hour and per unit of equipment, because the prime essential of producing is after all the producer and human nature is completely disregarded in the proposed schemes.

In many cases the purpose defeated itself because it was clearly a covert endeavor to get something for nothing.

Many employers have at last come to accept unreservedly the trade union contention, especially those employers who have throughout this trying period maintained a personal interest in their own business and industrial affairs. They have found that in their own establishments and in their own industry they have been merely running around in a circle, wherever they have yielded to the temptation to pursue ideals of

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efficiency in production which did not take account of efficiency and training for efficiency in the producer.

While they may have been able to get along during times of adverse business conditions or when trade was normal, it has become clear that as soon as any extra demand is made upon them or whenever they are confronted with an emergency, and especially in times of emergency such as that recently faced during the world maelstrom, the whole industrial machine has broken down of its own weight. At such times it has suddenly become apparent that industrial reserves have been depleted, that there were no human resources or skilled reserve power to draw upon, no thoroughly trained skilled mechanics who could be depended upon to turn out commodities of quality and in sufficient quantity, and no competent reserve force of skilled workmen who could easily be spared to rapidly train other workmen to become efficient producers.

Some employers have recognized the difficulties and dilemmas earlier than others. They have foreseen that specialization of industry and specialization of industrial occupations was being carried to such an extreme that if not arrested the whole complex mechanism of industry would be wrecked.

Confronted with imminent disaster in consequence of their own short-sightedness employers in some groups and in some sections of the country have organized corporation schools for the purpose of giving a more general training to some of their employees. The corporation school it may be noted, has not yet developed any great popular enthusiasm and for reasons only too obvious and well known. Such schools operated for corporation purposes rather than for the improvement of the welfare of workers have failed to reach the ends desired.

Again, in large industrial centers private agencies have undertaken questionable methods to conduct so-called "trade-schools." Most of the private "trade schools" it must now be conceded, have been discredited as schemes of extortion, closely approaching petit larceny. They have

generally proven to be failures. No benefits have accrued to employers from such pseudo training they advertise to provide, and none to the workmen who are mulcted by their promoters.

Other Schemes to Control Education.

In the midst of these reactions, experiments, and consequent confusions, trade unionists have not failed to observe a variety of other insidious schemes being promoted with the ulterior motive of gaining control of education of all grades—elementary, secondary, vocational, and collegiate. These schemes also have been foisted upon the country under high sounding names. Among them must be included certain well-advertised "foundations." These schemes have been subsidized by many agencies. Those financed by Rockefeller and Carnegie have been among the most conspicuous. The ultimate design has been,—so, at least, it would appear in many cases,—to so dominate and autocratically control education that the resisting power of the people would be honey-combed by the peculiar activities of the agents and representatives handling the funds of the principals.

If left undisturbed, these latter schemes would have undermined the self-reliance of the people and rendered them no longer free or independent in action or in thought.

The American Labor Movement, through its authorized representatives in the American Federation of Labor, has undertaken to correct these specialist evils in industry and to arrest the designs of those actuated by false motives in seeking greater profits and power for themselves.

The men and women in the Labor Movement have realized that the welfare of civilization and the destiny of future generations rested in their hands, almost it may be said, in their hands alone. They have particularly roused themselves to fight off the growing menace of private control of our educational agencies, of the very founts of knowledge itself, resolved to exert every effort to throttle and strangle this most dangerous foe to human liberty.

With this end clearly in view, the Denver Convention of the Amer-

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ican Federation of Labor in 1908 created a special committee on education composed of the following members:

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| John Mitchell, Chairman | Frank Duffy, |
| Samuel Gompers, | John Golden, |
| James Duncan, | Margaret Drier Robins, |
| John B. Lennon, | Agnes Nestor, |
| Edward Hirsch, | James Roach, |
| Frank Morrison, | James O'Connell, |
| James Wilson, | Stuart Reid, |
| Wm. B. Wilson, | Charles H. Winslow, |
| Hugh Frayne, | Dr. Charles P. Neill. |

That committee made a careful survey of the whole educational situation, especially as it affected industrial workers. They engaged experts to assist them; they conferred with broad-minded educators, publicists, employers, statesmen; and especially did they co-operate whole-heartedly with other influential and efficient organizations such as the National Society for Vocational Education.

Return to Some First Principles.

Their first decision was to revive some of the first principles in industry and endeavor to bring the people back to those first principles. They unanimously concluded that if education was to be safe it must be kept in the hands of the people themselves, under public control, and maintained by public funds. No private agency and no private fund must be permitted to interfere with or interrupt the wellsprings of education.

They decided also that, if the workers were to retain their mechanical abilities and independence, it was vitally necessary that either the old-time apprenticeship system should be re-established or a practical substitute provided which would be equally as efficient, if not superior, to former trade practices.

They decided further that it was now necessary that the future mechanics and technicians of the United States should have a greater versatility in the theory of their trades than they had ever been able to obtain in the past,—even under the old apprenticeship system,—so that

trade ethics would be more generally appreciated at its real value, and more efficiently sustained by the artisans and mechanics in the United States.

With these primary essentials re-established, industry would be placed on a more firm and stable foundation.

Vocational Education Law Enacted.

With these fundamental designs in mind, a bill was drafted by the committee and submitted to Arthur E. Holder, chairman of the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions that he secure its introduction in Congress. At his request, Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver of Iowa, chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, gladly assented not only to introduce the bill in the Senate, but to champion its provisions.

Senator Dolliver introduced the bill in January, 1910, and in April, 1910, the first hearings were held at which many men and women prominent in education, agricultural, industrial, and trade union activities participated. Senator Dolliver was unable to advance the bill during that Congress, owing to the fact that tariff legislation was absorbing the attention of Congressmen.

Representative Charles R. Davis of Minnesota introduced a similar bill in the House, but owing to the tariff discussion he was unable to get it before that body for consideration.

In the succeeding Congress, William P. Wilson, representative from Pennsylvania, now Secretary of Labor, reintroduced the measure. Owing to the death of Senator Dolliver, Senator Page of Vermont introduced the bill in the Senate.

Considerable progress was made during that Congress; in fact, the bill passed both the House of Representatives and the Senate, but died in conference. The congestion of legislation during the closing days of that Congress—the Sixty-second—made it impossible to get consideration of the conference report.

Early during the next Congress, in 1914, the agricultural extension portion of the bill was separated from the original draft and speedily enacted into the law. It is known as the Smith-Lever Act.

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At the same session Congress passed a joint resolution providing for the appointment of a special commission consisting of nine persons, to consider the need of and to report a plan for Federal aid in behalf of vocational education in State colleges and public schools. That commission was appointed by President Wilson, February 18, 1914. On it were two Senators: Hoke Smith of Georgia, and Carroll S. Page of Vermont; two Representatives, Dudley M. Hughes of Georgia and Simeon D. Fess of Ohio; Charles A. Prosser of New York, secretary of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education; Charles H. Winslow, member of the Sawsmiths' Union and expert on vocational education for the United States Department of Labor; Miss Agnes Nestor of Chicago, president of the International Glove Workers' Union; Miss Florence Marshall of New York, principal of the Manhattan Trade School for Girls; and John A. Lapp of Indianapolis, Legislation Reference Librarian.

After a full and free debate the reported bill recommended by this commission was accepted by Congress with but few changes. It passed both houses by a practically unanimous vote, and was approved by President Wilson, February 23, 1917. It is popularly known as the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Law.

The law is unique in one particular in that it requires a representative board to administer it. This board consists of seven members representing the active elements of society. It is composed of the Secretary of Agriculture, David F. Houston; Secretary of Commerce, William C. Redfield; Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson; United States Commissioner of Education, Philander P. Claxton, as ex-officio members; and three lay members—one to represent agriculture, Charles A. Great-house (succeeded by Calvin F. McIntosh); one to represent commerce and industry, James P. Munroe and one to represent labor, Arthur E. Holder. The Federal Board appointed for the administration of this law took office July 21, 1917.

This Federal Vocational Law has been found to be in practice as elastic and flexible as its designers originally intended. It dictates to no State, nor to any school. It offers a method of co-operation with the

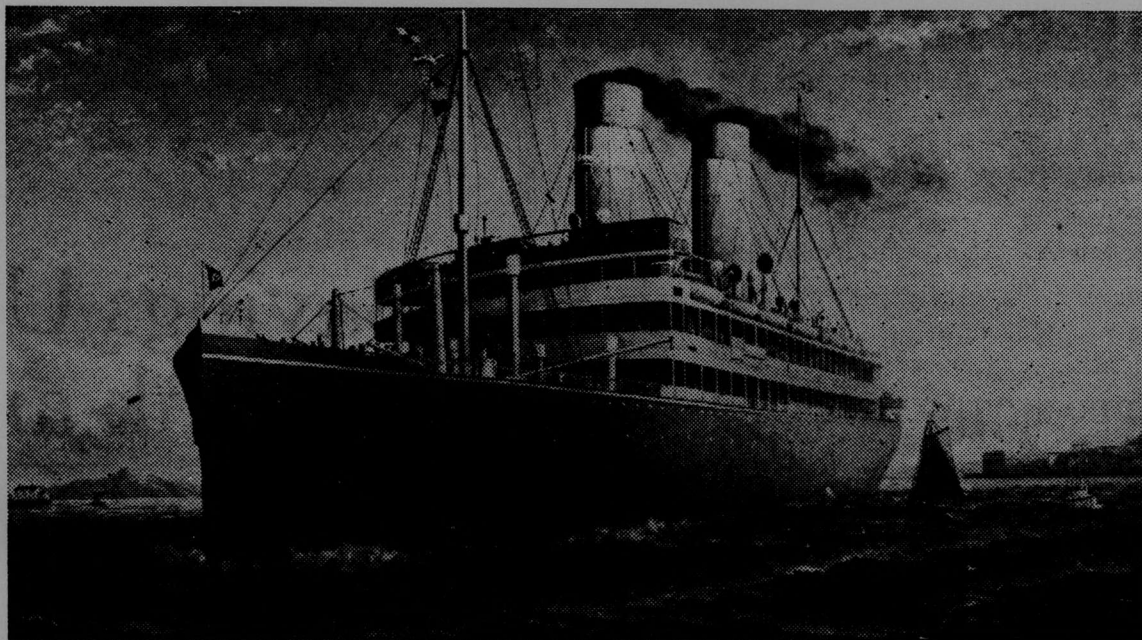
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several States on an equal basis of financial sustenance, provided that certain standards are set up which meet the approval of the Federal Board.

Federal aid as provided in this law is limited to schools under public control and maintenance. There is no interference with nor any Federal aid extended to schools of the purely elementary grades giving academic instruction. Neither is the Federal aid or co-operation extended to schools of college grade. Agricultural schools of college grade were previously provided for by the Federal Government under the Morrill Acts of 1862-1890; the Hatch Act of 1887; the Nelson Act of 1907; and other amendments to those acts.

As evidence of the popularity of this new law, and as an indication of the eagerness with which the people of the several States have manifested their approval of it, it is sufficient to note that on January 1, 1918, or only five months from the date when the Board undertook the administration of the law, every one of the forty-eight States had accepted the provisions of the Act in whole or in part.

The Federal Board's Duties.

The Federal Board, through the provisions of the Vocational Education Act is authorized to co-operate with the States and local communities in their promotion of vocational education only. This Act provides funds which are allotted by Congress to the States for reimbursement, through State Boards for Vocational Education, of local communities for the payment of not to exceed one-half the salaries of vocational teachers in approved schools, and for the preparation of teachers for such schools. The initial Federal appropriation for the first year was \$1,700,000, the annual appropriation increasing each year until a maximum of \$7,000,000 is attained in 1925. The law requires that States must match the Federal money in equal amounts. Provision is made in the Act also for an annual fund of \$200,000 to administer the Act, and to enable the Federal Board to make studies and investigations relating to vocational education.

In each State a Board for Vocational Education has been established and an administrative staff for carrying out the provisions of the Federal Act as it affects the States for administration of funds provided through State and Federal legislation.

Types of Classes.

It may be asked: What is the relationship of training in these vocational schools to apprenticeship? Under the law, three forms of vocational education are possible:

1. The all-day school,
2. The part-time school,
3. The evening school.

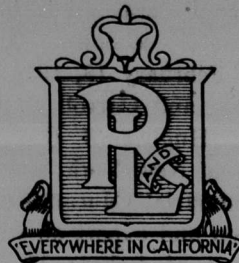
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1. The all-day school.

The Act requires that all-day schools organized in cities of over 25,000 population shall be in session for not less than six hours per day, nine months per year. It makes certain modifications for cities under 25,000. One-half of the school day must be given to shop work on a useful and productive basis, the remaining half of the school day to be divided between related subjects and general educational subjects. The instruction must be designed for pupils over 14 years of age who are preparing to enter upon a given trade or industrial pursuit.

2. The part-time school.

Part-time schools and classes are intended for those who have entered employment, and persons who are over 14 years of age. These schools and classes must be operated for a period of not less than 144 hours per year. The instruction must be given during regular hours of employment. Such classes must be carried on at the school, in the shop, or in class rooms adjoining the shop; in a building near the shop, or elsewhere. The instruction may be either manipulative in process or related to processes, or both. Such classes must be those which divide the working day, the working hours of the week; the working hours of the month, the working hours of the year between instruction and work in the industry. The instruction in the part-time school may be general continuation school work, trade preparation, or trade extension.

3. The evening school.

Evening schools and classes are organized for persons over 16 years of age. The law specifically requires that instruction must be supplemental to the day employment. These evening schools and classes are for persons who are employed during the day, and the instruction must be given outside the regular hours of employment. This means that instruction in the evening classes must be given as trade extension work. The classes can not be approved if the instruction is given in those subjects included in a general educational program. For individuals employed eight hours per day and working on a night shift, a school may be organized during the day time and still be classed as an evening school.

Apprenticeship Consideration.

A course in a day industrial school is expected to be, and usually is, two years in length. It is intended to give a preparatory course in or for the trades. It can not and is not ever intended to take the place of the apprenticeship required in such trades, in which apprenticeships are still in existence. Every boy who graduates from such industrial courses in a school should be required also to serve an apprenticeship.

It may be possible in some trades or some occupations to shorten the period of apprenticeship, but such industrial courses should not be permitted to wholly take the place of apprenticeships—where such exist. It may result that the students or graduates of such industrial schools will be given due and proper credits for the work performed in such schools, and that such credits will be applied to the regular apprenticeship courses. To illustrate: When a boy has spent two years in such a school he should receive some equivalent credit on his apprenticeship, so that his apprenticeship will be shortened by whatever arrangement has been agreed upon in the trade or in the locality of the school, after full consideration by accredited representatives of the community, —sometimes organized and known as advisory committees.

Representative Administration of States and Local Vocational Schools Imperative.

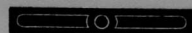
Such accredited representatives or advisory committees should be selected by employers' organizations, trade unions, and educational associations. This concept of administration is the basis of the Federal law. Its administrative characteristics must be representative of all of the active elements of society. The administration of State laws, both by the State and by local communities must eventually harmonize with this wise Federal provision for proper representation.

It is therefore the duty, as well as the privilege and responsibility of trade unionists in every community throughout the United States to see to it that they do not miss their opportunities or shirk their responsibilities.

If the educational forces of a community, or the employers' agencies undertake to overlook trade unionists and to administer vocational schools on their own responsibility, they will be as much in error as the trade unionists will be if they fail to interest themselves and to discharge

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their full rights of citizenship, or neglect the privileges and rights extended under the vocational education law.

Opportunity for All.

No way is left open now to permit any elements in society to complain or say that they "haven't got a chance"; or, "the school people did this on their own responsibility"; or, "the bosses are running the schools." Neither can any other excuse or evasion be legitimately made. The opportunity has been provided without let and without hindrance by the Federal Government so that the great work of training the young, co-ordinating their hands with their hearts and their hearts with their heads, may go on and on progressively and successfully, in a greater field of opportunity than was ever before provided; where all of the people can compete for the real laurels of achievement; where all will be stimulated to do better today than they did yesterday with the added hope that they will be able to do better tomorrow.

If the trade unionists are wise, they will take advantage everywhere of this greater opportunity. If they do so, they can materially help in the improvement of their trades and of society generally. By such active co-operation emphasis will be laid on the need of proper training and the development of such training. This co-operation will not only put the working people in touch with the industrial but with the whole educational situation, and will speedily enable all the workers to enjoy greater economic independence. It will eventually insure the entrance almost instantly of graduates from industrial schools into union shops where the apprenticeship scheme is recognized and where the children graduated from the schools will be better enabled to get their early training from practical teachers in real, up-to-date, properly equipped vocational schools.

Trade unionists should interest themselves at once in the future work of these schools. They should immediately become acquainted with the educators of the State and community responsible for the administration of this Act.

They should prepare themselves to become competent as teachers, and should, more generally than they now do, learn the art of imparting to others the trade knowledge they possess.

They should immediately get in contact with representative employers and representative educators in their community, for the purpose of making plans for the future, and they should popularize, to the fullest possible extent, the wonderful possibilities latent in this law.

Practical Training the Chief Essential.

If the vocational schools are to give real training and not waste the time of the children, they must make real things in a real way, taught

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by real workmen in the schools. It follows, of course, that they must use valuable material which costs money. As far as possible, everything made in such schools should be absorbed into the school system of which the industrial school itself is a part. When an occupation or a trade is taught and things are made by the pupils which can not be immediately or directly utilized in the school system,—as for example, some kinds of electrical work, automobile instruction, dressmaking, millinery, sign painting, decorating, cabinet work, pattern-making for foundries, and the making of metal parts for machines—these articles should not be destroyed. That would be a criminal waste of both the children's and the teachers' time, as well as a wanton waste of public money and material. A reasonable disposition of such articles can readily be arranged by the accredited representatives on the State local advisory committees which are expected to administer the law of the schools in the State and its subdivisions.

Output of Schools not Intended to Disturb Labor Conditions.

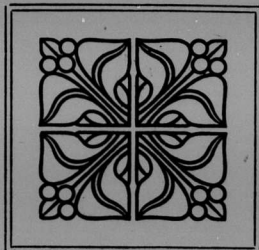
It is not expected or intended that the output of such schools shall ever disturb labor conditions. It is not intended that the business of the school shall be simply to make goods or commodities. The real, genuine business of the school must be to give practical instruction that will be completely and properly digested by the pupils. The making of articles will be incident to training. The amount produced by the most active of such schools already in existence before the enactment of the present Federal law was practically negligible. In the case of boys the products were valued at less than \$30 per year per boy, and in the case of girls at less than \$15 per year per girl. If a complaint should be made that the values of such productions are detrimental to the interests of the workers, it is only necessary to show that the cost of establishing an industrial school usually exceeds the normal output of such a school. The result of establishing such schools, of course, always increases the demand for labor—never decreases it.

Premature Specialization Not Intended.

It is not expected nor intended to introduce the graduates of industrial schools directly into the trades as competent all-around mechanics. It is not intended that their services should be utilized as specialists. To do so would defeat the main purpose of the law. It is, of course, inconceivable, that our own children raised in our own schools at our own expense can ever be utilized in an industrial dispute as strike breakers. That is one of the reasons why, and the purpose for which, broad-visioned representative employers, representative educators, and representative wage-earners have championed this law, so that our children and our neighbor's children will not be unfairly treated or exploited. The intent is to use these schools practically and purely to give prepara-

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tory courses for the younger children, and to give only courses which are thoroughly preparatory.

It is also the intent to enable those employed at a trade, and who lack expert knowledge in some branch or branches of the trade, to supplement their trade knowledge and become all-around artisans or mechanics by attendance at evening classes.

Vocational School Progress in States up to June 30, 1918.

It is impossible at this time to give the statistics for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1919, but it should be stated that when the figures are published for that period they will show a tremendous increase in the expenditures and the enrollment over those of the preceding year. The following data is, however, illuminating:

Two months after the signing of the Vocational Education Act by President Wilson, the United States entered the war. Owing to the drafting of such large numbers of men, and the demand in the army for those technically trained, the Federal Board, through the State vocational departments began emergency war-training courses in the subjects most needed by the army. Ten bulletins on these subjects were prepared by the Board, and 35,754 men joined the various classes.

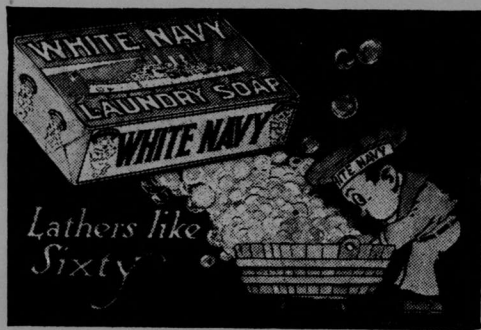
From every one of the 48 States came reports of vocational schools. At the close of the fiscal year, June 30, 1918, only eleven months from the appointment of the Board, 1741 schools were reported as conducting courses in vocational instruction with an aggregate enrollment of 164,186 pupils.

During that period there were 895 vocational teachers employed for agricultural education. Of the 15,187 pupils enrolled in the classes, 13,901 were male and 1286 were female. For these agricultural classes \$273,587.68 of Federal money was expended.

There were 688 vocational teachers employed for home economics in evening schools and the pupils in these classes numbered 22,360. For the day home economics schools there were 398 teachers employed, with an enrollment of 8333 pupils in these schools, 25 boys and 8308 girls. The amount of Federal money expended for home economics day and evening schools was \$56,591.21; for part-time schools \$3,869.25, making a total of \$60,460.46.

There were 1397 vocational teachers employed for evening trade or industrial education and 46,288 pupils enrolled. In the part-time schools 827 teachers were employed and 53,005 pupils enrolled. For the all day trade or industrial schools 1052 teachers were employed and 18,528 pupils were enrolled. For evening trade or industrial schools \$80,588.13 of Federal money was expended; \$88,819.12 for part-time schools and \$195,464.66 for day schools.

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There were 116 teachers and 1534 students in teacher-training courses in agriculture; 263 teachers and 3319 students in teacher-training courses in home economics; 95 teachers and 1091 students in teacher-training courses in trades and industries. The expenditure of Federal money for teacher-training in agriculture amounted to \$54,887.38; in home economics \$86,985.72; and in trades and industries \$38,553.53, a total of \$180,426.63 for teacher-training.

In every one of the States some form of teacher-training work was undertaken, and in all but six, some form of trade and industrial teacher-training work. The total number of persons preparing to be vocational teachers in the country is reported by the State Boards to be 6579.

No Partisan Politics Apparent.

Statements have been made by some who are not in sympathy with vocational education or trade training, that the passage of the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education law was inspired by partisans for political advantage.

To those who have such misgivings the foregoing historical survey as to the part played by laymen representing education, commerce, manufacture, agriculture and labor in behalf of this law should be sufficiently convincing to prove that at no time have political partisans endeavored to capitalize or claim party credits for the passage of the Act.

The bare facts are these: Senator Dolliver of Iowa and Representative Davis of Minnesota, both well-known Republicans, championed the first bills. Senator Page, Republican of Vermont and Representative Wm. B. Wilson, Democrat of Pennsylvania handled the bills in the second stage.

Senator Hoke Smith and Representative Hughes, both Democrats from Georgia, were members of the Industrial Education Commission of 1914. They were also chairmen of the Committees on Education of the Senate and House.

When the first bill passed Congress in 1912 it received almost a unanimous vote in both Houses.

In 1916 and 1917, when the present act was passed, many members of the House and Senate, Democrats and Republicans, vied with each

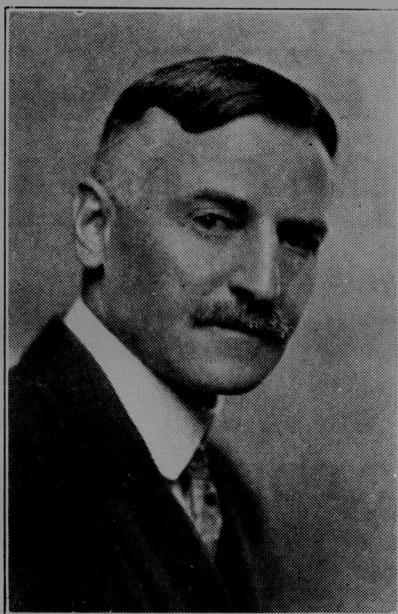
other to advance the measure and express their enthusiasm in its behalf. During the debate in the House, members complimented and praised Mr. Hughes. On the final passage of the bill in the House, the members were so elated that they arose en masse and vigorously applauded.

Never at any time were party lines drawn; never was any allusion made to political party credits in debate. We are proud of the fact that this great educational, humanitarian measure passed Congress by almost unanimous vote without any partisan claims or antagonism.

The following is a list of the State directors of vocational education, with their addresses:

State Directors of Vocational Education.

Alabama: J. B. Hobdy, Montgomery.
 Arizona: L. Colodny, Phoenix.
 Arkansas: A. B. Hill, Little Rock.
 California: Dr. E. R. Snyder, Sacramento.
 Colorado: C. G. Sargent, Fort Collins.
 Connecticut: F. J. Trinder, Hartford.
 Idaho: E. A. Bryan, Boise.
 Indiana: J. G. Collicott, Indianapolis.
 Iowa: W. H. Bender, Des Moines.
 Kansas: H. L. Kent, Topeka.
 Maine: Paul A. Smiley, Augusta.
 Massachusetts: R. O. Small, Boston.
 Minnesota: E. M. Phillips, St. Paul.
 Missouri: W. T. Carrington, Jefferson City.
 Montana: L. R. Foote, Helena.
 Nebraska: C. A. Fulmer, Lincoln.
 Nevada: Ralph A. Jones, Carson City.
 New Hampshire: G. H. Whitcher, Concord.
 New Jersey: W. A. O'Leary, Trenton.
 New Mexico: Mrs. Ruth C. Miller, Santa Fe.
 New York: L. A. Wilson, Albany.
 North Carolina: T. E. Browne, Raleigh.
 Ohio: Elbert L. Heusch, Alfred Vivian, Columbus.



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His record as Chairman of the Federal District Exemption Board for San Francisco and Alameda Counties during the War demonstrated his fairness toward Labor.

Oklahoma: Charles W. Briles, Oklahoma City.
 Pennsylvania: M. B. King, L. H. Dennis, Harrisburg.
 South Dakota: C. H. Brady, Brookings.
 Utah: F. W. Kirkham, Salt Lake City.
 Washington: C. R. Frazier, Olympia.
 Wisconsin: John Callahan, Madison.
 Wyoming: James R. Coxen, Laramie.

The following is a list of the executive officers of State boards, and their addresses:

Executive Officers of State Boards.

Alabama: Spright Dowell, State Superintendent of Education, Montgomery.
 Arizona: C. O. Case, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Phoenix.
 Arkansas: J. L. Bond, State Superintendent of Education, Little Rock.
 California: E. R. Snyder, Commissioner of Education, Sacramento.
 Colorado: A. A. Edwards, President State Board of Agriculture, Fort Collins.
 Connecticut: Charles D. Hine, Secretary State Board of Education, Hartford.
 Delaware: A. R. Spaid, Commissioner of Education, Dover.
 Florida: W. N. Sheats, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Tallahassee.
 Georgia: M. L. Brittain, State Superintendent of Schools, Atlanta.
 Idaho: E. A. Bryan, Commissioner of Education, Boise.
 Illinois: F. G. Blair, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Springfield.
 Indiana: L. N. Hines, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Indianapolis.
 Iowa: A. M. Deyoe, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Des Moines.
 Kansas: Miss Lizzie E. Wooster, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Topeka.

Kentucky: V. O. Gilbert, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Frankfort.

Louisiana: T. H. Harris, State Superintendent of Education, Baton Rouge.

Maine: A. O. Thomas, State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Maryland: M. Bates Stephens, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, McCoy Hall, Baltimore.

Massachusetts: Payson Smith, State Commissioner of Education, Boston.

Michigan: Thomas E. Johnson, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lansing.

Minnesota: James M. McConnell, State Superintendent of Education, St. Paul.

Mississippi: W. F. Bond, State Superintendent of Education, Jackson.

Missouri: Sam. A. Baker, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Jefferson City.

Montana: Miss May Trumper, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Helena.

Nebraska: W. H. Clemmons, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lincoln.

Nevada: Walter J. Hunting, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Carson City.

New Hampshire: E. W. Butterfield, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Concord.

New Jersey: Calvin N. Kendall, Commissioner of Education, Trenton.

New Mexico: J. H. Wagner, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Santa Fe.

New York: John H. Finley, State Commissioner of Education, Albany.

North Carolina: E. C. Brooks, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Raleigh.

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North Dakota: Miss Minnie J. Nelson, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Bismarck.

Ohio: F. B. Pearson, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Columbus.

Oklahoma: Cora F. Smith, Secretary State Board of Vocational Education, Oklahoma City.

Oregon: J. A. Churchill, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Salem.

Pennsylvania: Nathan C. Schaeffer, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Harrisburg.

Rhode Island: Walter E. Ranger, Commissioner of Public Schools, Providence.

South Carolina: J. E. Swearingen, State Superintendent of Education, Columbia.

South Dakota: Fred L. Shaw, State Superintendent of Education, Pierre.

Tennessee: Albert Williams, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Nashville.

Texas: Miss Annie Webb Blanton, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Austin.

Utah: E. G. Gowans, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Salt Lake City.

Vermont: Milo B. Hillegas, Commissioner of Education, Montpelier.

Virginia: Harris Hart, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Richmond.

Washington: Mrs. J. C. Preston, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Olympia.

West Virginia: J. F. Marsh, State Board of Regents, Charleston.

Wisconsin: John Callahan, Executive Secretary State Board for Vocational Education, Madison.

Wyoming: Jas. R. Coxen, Secretary of State Board of Education, Laramie.

BUSINESS "CURTAILED."

Business is "curtailed," according to the Federal Reserve Board's report on July conditions. The board makes no mention of the sing-song that labor is responsible, but the blame is placed on causes beyond the control of the workers, who, it is stated, are becoming more efficient. Crop reports also show that records are being broken in the production of food. Despite greater efficiency on the part of industrial and agricultural workers industry is slacking.

The Wyandotte County District Court has set aside that portion of the Kansas "can't-strike" law which makes it illegal for one person to urge another person to strike. The court discharged a worker who was charged with "influencing." Opponents of the law say the decision is a body blow to the peonage act, as the court's ruling hits one of the most important provisions of the Allen plan. The state will appeal the decision.

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SAN FRANCISCO

TO IMPROVE OUR SCHOOL SYSTEM

Pursuant to instructions of the Council, your Law and Legislative Committee has investigated the provisions of the proposed charter amendment relating to the reorganization of the city's school department.

This amendment differs in many respects from the amendment on the same subject submitted to the voters two years ago. It omits a great number of minor provisions which regardless of their merits or demerits need not be considered while we are engaged in the task of securing some of the more fundamental changes necessary to improve the present educational system of San Francisco.

In the present charter are to be found provisions which constitute the greatest hindrance to the efficient conduct of our public schools, both from an educational and a business standpoint. This fundamental error may be generalized as consisting in a confusion of powers as between the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools. Both exercise jointly legislative and executive powers, through which commingling of powers it is impossible in most instances to determine where the responsibility lies for what is found wrong with our educational system and accomplishments. To remedy this defect, which as stated constitutes the real vice of the present system, the amendment provides that the Superintendent of Schools shall be the executive officer of the Board of Education, with such powers as are provided in the charter and the general laws of the State, and that the board shall exercise the legislative powers imposed upon it by the charter and the laws of the State. In this manner a complete separation of powers is secured, in the same manner as in a private corporation the duties and powers of the manager are separated and distinct from the duties and powers of the Board of Directors. Only in this manner can we secure expert educational advice and business efficiency in the management of the affairs of the department.

Another vital defect of our charter is that there are no expert educational qualifications prescribed for the aspirant for the office of Superintendent of Schools. In the nature of things, the chief of our educational system should be an expert in his profession to be able to respond quickly and efficiently to the needs of the community as they change from time to time. He is the chief source of securing improvements and new facilities, or adopting new educational policies. Upon his knowledge and experience depend entirely what kind of education our children shall receive.

The teachers, who themselves are expert, should naturally depend for assignment and promotion upon the person in the department who possesses the necessary qualification to pass judgment upon their capacities and fitness for the job to which they are assigned. It is altogether wrong that as at present the lay members of the department should assume control in this respect. Therefore the amendment provides that such assignments, promotions and transfers shall be made by the board upon the recommendation of the superintendent, and not otherwise.

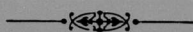
Mechanics and janitors employed by the department are to be protected in their civil service standing granted to them by a State law, but which has not been tested as to its validity, and which is incorporated in the charter to make the protection certain and beyond dispute.

The above fundamental and as we think absolutely necessary legal provisions, if adopted by the people, will introduce a new spirit in our educational department that will make for better education and a new order of business efficiency in our school affairs.

The compromises that have been made in the amendment all relate to the Board of Education, and were necessary to conciliate as much as possible the widely divergent views of the members of the seventeen

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organizations that participated in the consideration and drafting of the amendment.

As it is not practical or likely possible at once and in a single amendment to accomplish every reform desired, your committee is of the opinion that the fundamental changes above described are of sufficient importance to entitle the amendment to the support of the Labor Council. Therefore committee respectfully *recommends*, that the amendment be indorsed and that the Council assist in whatever may be required to have the amendment submitted by the Board of Supervisors for a vote of the people at the next charter amendment election.

The Amendment.

Describing and Setting forth a proposal to the qualified electors of the City and County of San Francisco, to amend the charter of said City and County by amending Sections 1, 2 and 3 of Chapter 1, Article VII, Section 1, of Chapter II, Article VII, Sections 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Chapter IV, Article VII, and adding a new section to Chapter IV, Article VII, to be designated as Section 7, relating to the School Department.

That Section 1, Chapter I, Article VII of the charter is hereby amended to read as follows:

Section 1. The School Department shall be under the control and management of a Board of Education composed of seven (7) School Directors, who shall be appointed by the Mayor, subject to confirmation or rejection by the electors, as hereinafter provided, and who shall each be citizens of the United States, and who shall at the time of their respective appointments be not less than thirty (30) years of age and shall have been residents of the City and County of San Francisco for at least five (5) years prior to their said respective appointments. The full term of office of each of the directors shall be seven (7) years, commencing on the 8th day of January, except that those first appointed hereunder shall be so classified that they shall respectively go out of office at the end of one, two, three, four, five, six and seven years successively.

Appointments to the Board of Education shall be made by the Mayor,

subject to confirmation by the electors, as follows:

Between the first and tenth day of September in each year the Mayor shall file with the Registrar of Voters the name of a qualified citizen to serve as a member of the Board of Education for the regular term commencing on the 8th day of January in the succeeding year. At the general election in the following November there shall be placed by the Registrar of Voters upon the ballot a statement in substantially the following form:

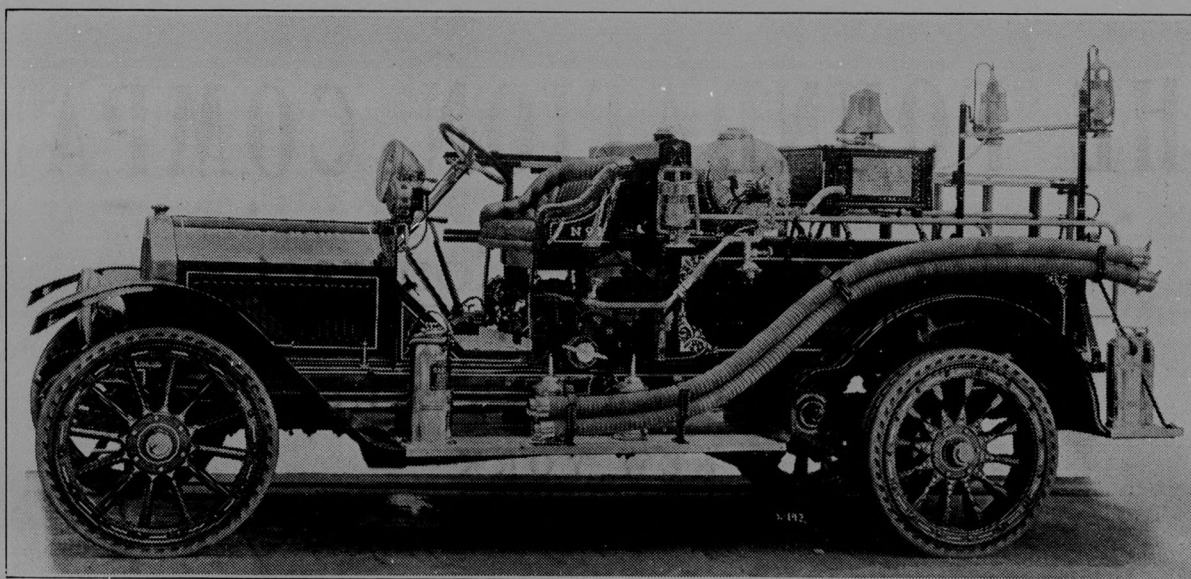
For Member of the Board of Education

| | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
| JOHN DOE (Appointed by the Mayor for confirmation by the Electors) | | |

If a majority of the electors voting on such appointment vote "Yes," said appointment shall be confirmed and the person named shall take office on the 8th day of January next following. If a majority of the electors vote "No" the appointment shall stand rejected and such person shall not be appointed as a member of the Board of Education.

Vacancies shall be filled by appointment by the Mayor of a qualified citizen, other than one who has been rejected by the voters; and such appointment shall be submitted to the electors for confirmation or rejection at the next general election in the manner above provided for original appointments. If such appointment be approved by the electors the person appointed shall serve for the unexpired term. If such appointment be rejected the office shall thereupon become vacant. Persons appointed to a vacancy shall exercise the powers of the office pending the election. Persons rejected by the electors shall become eligible to membership on the Board of Education only after appointment by the Mayor and confirmation by the electors.

The School Directors shall receive as compensation fifteen dollars per day when the Board is in session. They shall also receive ten dollars per day while engaged in committee work under the direction of the board; provided, however, that the total amount of such per diem for session and committee work for all directors, shall not exceed five thou-



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sand dollars for any fiscal year; and provided further, that only those actually attending a session or doing such committee work, shall be entitled to compensation therefor.

That Section 2, Chapter I, Article VIII, of the charter is hereby amended to read as follows:

Section 2. The board shall organize by electing one of its number president, who shall serve for one year and until his successor is elected. The board may employ a secretary and other necessary assistants, subject to the provisions of Article XIII of the charter; but employees of the Board of Education occupying positions in the clerical, mechanical, janitorial and labor services who have held such positions continuously for one year immediately prior to the date of adoption of this amendment shall be deemed to have been appointed to the positions they then hold under the terms of Article XIII of the charter.

That Section 3, Chapter I, Article VII of the charter is hereby amended to read as follows:

Section 3. The board shall meet at least twice a month and at such other times as it may determine. A majority of all the members of the board shall constitute a quorum; in every instance where a power is exercised by the board under this charter or the laws of the State, the vote thereon shall be taken by ayes and noes and entered in the minutes of the board, and no action or decision of the board shall become official and binding without the concurrence of a majority of the members of the board. The board shall keep a record of its proceedings and such record shall be a public record. Such committees may be established from time to time as the Board of Education may provide, and their duties shall be prescribed by the board. The Board of Education shall exercise such powers as are conferred on it by this charter and the laws of the State.

That Section 1, Chapter II, Article VII, is hereby amended to read as follows:

Section 1. The School Department shall comprise all the public schools of the City and County, and shall include such elementary, intermediate, high, evening, deportment, continuation, vocational, technical,

cosmopolitan, normal, and other types of schools authorized by the laws of the State as the Board of Education may determine.

That Section 1, Chapter IV, Article VII, of the charter is hereby amended to read as follows:

Section 1. The Superintendent of Schools of the City and County shall be the executive officer of the Board of Education. He shall be appointed by said board to serve during its pleasure, and he shall receive such salary as may be fixed by the board. This section as amended shall not become effective until the end of the term of the elected Superintendent holding office at the time of the adoption of this amendment, who shall exercise all of his then existing powers and duties to the end of his term in the same manner and to the same extent as if this amendment had not been passed.

That Section 2, Chapter IV, Article VII, of the charter is hereby amended to read as follows:

Section 2. The Superintendent shall appoint four Deputy Superintendents. The number of such deputies shall not be increased until the average daily attendance shall have reached forty-five thousand, when the Superintendent shall appoint one additional deputy and thereafter he shall appoint one deputy for each additional eight thousand children in average daily attendance. If from any cause a vacancy occurs in the office of Deputy Superintendent, such vacancy shall be filled by the Superintendent. Such appointments of Deputy Superintendents shall be effective only upon the approval of the Board of Education, and the appointees shall serve during the pleasure of said board.

That Section 3, Chapter IV, Article VII of the charter is hereby amended to read as follows:

Section 3. The positions of Superintendent and Deputy Superintendents, shall be held only by persons of expert or technical training, and shall not be subject to any provisions of this charter prescribing a residence qualification for officers or appointees; provided, however, that during their incumbency appointees to such positions shall actually

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reside in the City and County, and in case any such appointee shall fail so to do, his appointment shall be at once revoked by the board.

That Section 4, Chapter IV, Article VII, is hereby amended to read as follows:

Section 4. Deputy Superintendents must have had at least five years of successful experience as teachers, but should the enlargement of the scope of activities of the School Department render the appointment of one or more Deputy Superintendents to supervise some special line of educational work advantageous, such appointment may be made regardless of previous teaching experience by an affirmative vote of five out of the seven Directors, but the appointee must have had five years' practical experience in the line of work which he will be called upon to supervise.

That Chapter IV, Article VII, of the charter, is hereby amended by adding a new section thereto, to be known as Section 7, and to read as follows:

Section 7. Appointment, promotion, assignment, and transfer of teachers, as authorized in Subdivision 2 of Section 1, Chapter III of this Article, shall be made by the Board of Education upon the recommendation of the Superintendent of Schools, and not otherwise.

Schedule.

This amendment shall become effective as follows:

Between the first and tenth day of September, 1921, the Mayor shall appoint seven qualified persons for members of the Board of Education and their names shall be submitted to the electors for confirmation as provided herein. Those confirmed by the electors shall take office on the 8th day of January, 1922, the term of the person receiving the highest vote to expire at the end of seven years, the next six years, and so on. If any be rejected the vacancy shall be filled as in this article provided. If more than one be rejected the Mayor shall designate in filling vacancies the term to be served by each, so that one vacancy shall occur each year.

The remaining provisions of this amendment shall be in effect from and after the 8th day of January, 1922.

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CORROBORATING EVIDENCE

By THEODORE JOHNSON

There was terror in the land and panic was spreading all over the West by reason of President Cleveland's rumored proclamation of martial law for the suppression of the railroad strike of 1894. Two companies of the National Guard of California, one composed of Stockton boys and the other of Sacramento's own, had refused to obey orders to clear out the railroad depot at Sacramento, which was held by three thousand strikers and where the entire trackage was congested with stalled locomotives, freight and passenger trains. The two companies were marched back to camp in the Capitol grounds, and several companies of regulars under General Graham came up post haste from San Francisco Presidio the next morning. There were rumors that shots had been fired against the regulars from the Yolo side of the river, but an investigation among the partisans of both sides soon proved these rumors unfounded, although they led immediately to a proclamation by the military commander warning the people of Sacramento not to loiter in the streets and to stay in their homes after 8 p. m.

The only signs of a state of war or insurrection consisted in the frequent marching of platoons of soldiers their riot drills along "J" and "K" streets, and the aforesaid placards posted on buildings warning every well-intentioned citizen to be in bed by 8 a. m.

Golden Eagle Hotel was then the nerve center of Sacramento life. Every distinguished traveler and celebrity coming to California, every prominent politician or office-holder, and every clever person who had business before the Legislature, the various State officers or the Supreme Court, stopped in those days at the Golden Eagle. On this occasion the hotel was overcrowded with guests, among whom were railroad and state officials, and General Graham with his staff, not to mention the feeding of relays of soldiers, one hundred at a sitting, four or five times during

each meal, all in perfect democratic fashion and in a state of suppressed excitement peculiar to extraordinary occasions in American life.

The headwaiter of the hotel was pressed for waiters and scoured the town for extra help, a scarce article at all times in Sacramento, excepting during the seasonal times of "The Fair" and the Legislature. As fate had it, the headwaiter picked one whom we shall call George and who had come up to the Capital to play an engagement in vaudeville. Now, this George, poor fellow, had a story all his own. He once suffered from a boil on the nose, which made him Ganymedically impossible though histrionically acceptable. At any rate, that accident had unsettled his career and induced him to abandon the halls of the muses Thalia and Terpsichore for the purlieus of gastronomy. Whatever one may think of the pranks of fate, it is exasperating to think that a simple boil should have saved the world from a cause celebre in the strife between capital and labor.

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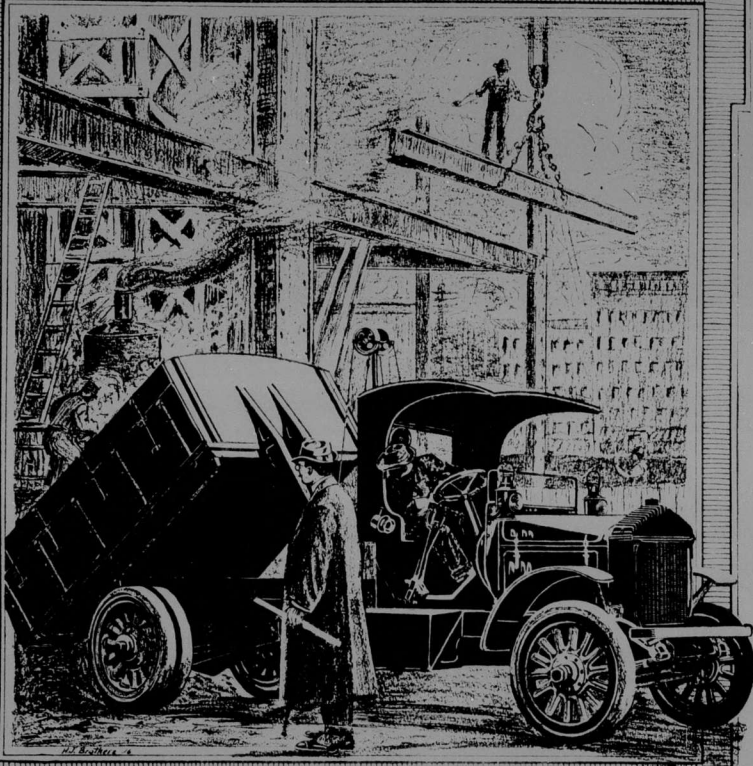
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Mr. Fillmore, the superintendent of the Southern Pacific, stopped at the Golden Eagle, and had his meals sent to his rooms, but his private secretary, a likeable fellow, with red hair and an affable smile, took his meals in the dining room. This private secretary was chummy with the United States marshal, who also stopped at the hotel, for the purpose of keeping in perfect touch with all the developments of the strike.

On what proved the fatal day of the strike as well as this story, the blockade was to be broken, and a train manned by soldiers was sent out in the forenoon from the depot toward Davisville. About 11:30 that forenoon the two chums sought and obtained from the headwaiter the privilege of being served lunch in the dining room, before the doors were opened to the guests as usual at noon. And it came to pass that George was the waiter on watch, who was directed to wait on them. This was also George's first appearance, and being somewhat rusty in the art he labored under the further disadvantage of not knowing the rules and customs of that particular dining room, all of which forms part of this story.

As pertains to his office and functions, the headwaiter was on good and familiar terms with every guest and served as a trusted advisor, friend and confidant on every little problem in hotel life, such as only men in such positions learn to know and understand how to settle to the satisfaction of all concerned. He naturally felt some curiosity as to what had induced two such important personages to take lunch so early and to surround themselves with such seclusiveness. Like a well-bred student of gaining knowledge from guests, the headwaiter took his usual precautions to preclude the likelihood of failure. He stationed himself some distance away from the table where the two chums were sitting, sufficiently near to see that they were properly served and sufficiently far away not to infringe upon the secrecy of their conversation, as they were speaking in low tones and appeared to want not to be overheard on the important subject they were discussing.

Golden Eagle Hotel, as the readers may know, was at that time in the history of the State, headquarters for all political conventions and intrigues, and for that reason matters of political and general import

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formed subjects of constant observation by all who in any way frequented said hotel.

George did not stay near his customers after giving them his attention, but assumed a position at the other end of the room facing the head waiter and the guests. The headwaiter, in accordance with the custom, signaled to George to come to him for further instruction. If George had obeyed the signal he would have been told to stay close to his guests, to watch over their further wants but without disturbing them, which is what is to be expected from an attentive waiter. But George was not aware of any signaling system, and instead of approaching left the dining room in the direction of the kitchen. Not wishing or daring to leave the guests for a moment the headwaiter stood motionless for about a minute, when he noticed the secretary taking out his watch and looking intently upon it. This was the headwaiter's opportunity for action. He walked up to the table, watch in hand, and said: "It is now — minutes to twelve o'clock, and we open at twelve, is there anything else you gentlemen want?" Instead of answering directly the secretary turned to the marshal and said: "The news will come any minute; it should be here before twelve." He had hardly finished as a messenger came through the door, leading from the hotel lobby, to deliver a telegram, which was quickly grabbed and read by the secretary. As he had read it, he exclaimed: "What did I tell you. The train was ditched at the trestle. Let us hurry up to Mr. Fillmore," after which the two quickly left the dining room.

But for George's stupidity, he would have become a star witness in a great case, an important corroborating witness to the story that transpired in the dining room that morning. And instead of fastening the shadow of a black crime upon the strikers or robbing them of the sympathy and confidence of the public, the Southern Pacific would have been put into the pillory of public shame such as seldom has been brought home to a corporation of that character.

Subsequently, in the same dining room, while discussing the trials of Worden and the other strike leaders at Woodland, the special prosecutor employed by the company, Attorney Carroll Cook was heard saying, that he felt sure that all the accused strike leaders would be convicted and hanged, and that the Southern Pacific was sparing no expense to secure that object. He said he was well paid himself for his work, although the blistering heat that summer was hard on a man unaccustomed to such a climate.

Somehow, it did not take long before all the people in Woodland saw through the flimsy fabric woven around the strikers by the company, and as a result the only one convicted by a jury was Worden. And, though Worden's case may always remain a mystery, most people were inclined to believe that he was a stool pigeon for the company, and it is a singular circumstance that Collis P. Huntington and other high officials of the company shall have signed the application for pardon or commutation of death sentence, which was granted to Worden.

This story should prove the value and necessity for corroborating evidence, and it will always remain a matter of regret in this case that through the ignorance or incompetency of a worker a grasping and soulless corporation should have escaped from the ignominy of being exposed before the very tribunal to which it hypocritically appealed for justice.

OVERSTOCKED PRINTERS OF 1472.

In his "Literature of Europe" Mr. Hallam mentions a "curious petition of Sweynham and Pannatz to Sixtus IV. in 1472," wherein they state their difficulties "brought on by printing so many works which they had not been able to sell. They state the number of impressions of each edition. Of the classical authors they had generally printed 275; of Virgil and the philosophical works of Cicero, twice that number. In theological publications the usual number of copies had also been 550. The whole number of copies printed was 12,475."



The Dissipation of a Dogma

By W. J. GHENT

When a "revolutionist" tells you that with the wiping out of the "ruling class" the political state will disappear, ask him to take a look at soviet Russia. When he quotes Frederick Engels to the effect that with the extinction of capital "the government of human beings will cease and the administration of things will take its place," ask him how the rule works out under Lenine. When he tells you that with "working-class emancipation" there is "nothing more to repress and no need of a special repressing power, the state," ask him to expatiate on the powers and practices of the soviet central executive committee.

The Bolsheviks have wiped out the former ruling class; they have (theoretically at least) abolished capital; they have looted most of the private possessions of the well-to-do, and they profess to have achieved "working-class emancipation."

But with all this they have not abolished "government of human beings." Though they have dismally failed in the "administration of things," they have built up the most autocratic political government in the world. To large classes they openly deny the franchise, and they manipulate it against all the others who oppose them. They have openly abolished free speech, a free press and free assemblage. They have adopted compulsory labor, and they have suppressed strikes in the factories. They have persecuted with inconceivable brutality not only the bourgeoisie but liberals, Socialists, Socialist Revolutionaries, trade-unionists and organizers of the co-operative movement.

On top of all this they have instituted government by decree. Not a day passes without the issue of new ukases and orders telling the individual what he must do and what he must refrain from doing. He must register here and again register there. He must make payments, both public and private, in such and such a manner. He must surrender this and relinquish that. He must give information at one place and repeat

it at another place. Every movement of the individual is under executive direction; and not to know the mandates and the prohibitions—or knowing, to violate them—is to land oneself in jail or before a firing squad. For the average citizen most of the time that is not spent in looking for food must be spent in learning the decrees.

"The state expires," wrote Bebel, "with the expiration of the ruling class"; and the "revolutionist" continues, parrot-like, to repeat the dogma. It is a foolish dogma, born a half-century ago of the reaction against Prussianism. It never had any logical basis, and it has been wholly exploded by developments in Russia. But the fact will have small influence with the voluble "revolutionist." He will continue to quote the dogma as the essence of wisdom until some new phrase, more sonorous or more sweeping, captivates his fancy. The zeal of the fanatic takes no account of facts. His concern is with visions and phrases.

The "government of human beings" bids fair to continue as long as there are human beings to govern. With the development of industrial democracy, government will more and more take on the character of an "administration of things." But the one does not exclude the other. There will always be men to govern as well as things to administer.

The vital question is how this government and this administration shall be effected—whether autocratically, as under the reigns of Nicholas Romanoff and of Nicholas Lenine, or democratically as in a free republic. Labor's choice is democracy. In attaining that democracy we shall have no help from fanatical zealots who urge us to exchange the alleged dictatorship of the bourgeoisie for the dubious "dictatorship of the proletariat." The only kind of dictatorship that labor will tolerate is the dictatorship of democracy.

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-:- Why Hungary is Boycotted -:-

The Bureau of International Trades Unions has issued an appeal to the workers of all countries, the text of which was published in a recent issue of L'Information and in translation reads as follows:

The Federation of International Trade Unions has decided to boycott Hungary and to stop all communication with that country on and after Sunday, June 20, 1920.

It is nearly one year since the so-called law-and-order element assumed the power of government in Hungary. Ever since that moment the labor movement has been subjected to oppression and persecution unparalleled in the annals of the movement and greatly surpassing in severity the atrocities of the czarist regime in Russia.

Mere membership in a non-sectarian labor organization is sufficient to entail imprisonment, and a secret accusation by an informer leads to arrest and incarceration in the prison camp.

Since the beginning of this year there were in the prisoners' concentration camp at Hajmaskar 9000 men and women, and in those at Csepel, Zalavgerszeg, Eger, Cegled and Homarom Sandberg, there were incarcerated, respectively, 4000, 2400, 2000, 3000 and 2000 men and women.

Altogether 50,000 men and women were imprisoned. The city jails were kept full to overflowing. The prisoners are subjected to most barbaric and refined tortures.

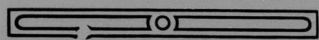
In the beginning of the year already 5000 had been "executed." And thousands upon thousands have been killed by ruffian bands of officers without any form of trial. Other thousands died of starvation, under-nourishment and diseases of all kinds. Groups of reactionary office-holders exercise supreme power; whoever falls into their hands is lost, and the victims are tortured or killed. There are cases in which

the victims were scalped, had their arms and legs broken, were compelled to eat rotten food and human flesh, where the men were castrated and mutilated. We have sworn and reliable testimony to such effect.

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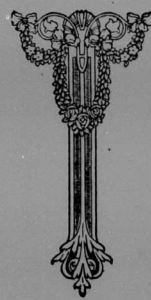
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Fathers have been tortured and slain in the sight of their wives and children, and women and girls violated in the presence of their husbands and fathers. Every day the dead bodies of missing men and women have been found in the fields and byways, shot or stabbed, drowned or mutilated.

The Federation of International Trades Unions has protested against these atrocities to the Hungarian government and to the supreme council of the League of Nations, and demanded that there be a stop to these atrocities. It has all been in vain. The White Terror reigns unmolested in Hungary. It is evident that the League of Nations either has not the power or the will to exert sufficient pressure upon the Hungarian government, and the latter, it seems, also has neither the power nor the will to put a stop to what is going on in that country, as it either shuts its eyes to the existence of these atrocities or secretly encourages them.

The Federation has in its possession Hungarian documents in which the authorities enjoin upon the courts to punish prisoners even where there is no complete proofs of what they term guilt, and offers to pay for preventing the accused from doing harm; that is to say, offers a premium upon conviction and assassination to prevent the labor leaders from escaping to foreign countries. These premiums range from 20,000 to 250,000 crowns. These are known and established facts. Governments are cognizant of them but refuse to intervene, and probably are rejoiced to see the labor movement of Hungary persecuted and trodden down.

The Federation of International Trade Unions will assume the task neglected by the governments, and therefore appeals to the workers of all countries that beginning June 20th they refrain from all work that may in any manner, directly or indirectly, benefit the White Terror of Hungary.

Beginning June 20, 1920, no train shall pass the frontiers of Hungary, no vessel shall pass its boundary lines, no letter, no telegram shall either leave or enter Hungary.

All traffic shall cease. No coal, no raw materials, no necessities of

life nothing shall pass into that country. During the war the authorities fought their adversaries with the economic boycott. After the war they have used the same means and still endeavor by it to overpower the Russian workingmen's movement.

The Federation of International Trade Unions appeals to the working class of every country to use the same means for the purpose of putting a stop to the bloody business of the government of Hungary and to save the lives and liberty of thousands of working comrades.

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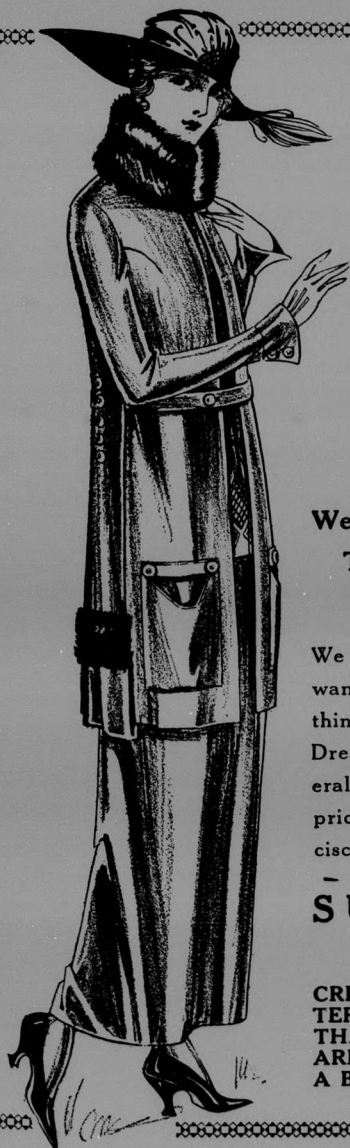
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Some Federation Facts

That there were 110 National and International Unions, five departments, 682 local department councils, 36,741 Local Unions, 926 City Central Bodies, 46 State Federations of Labor, and 1286 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions holding a total membership of 4,078,740 members, in the American Federation of Labor?

That the average increase in membership for the year ending April 30, 1920 was 818,672?

That there has been no decrease in membership since 1915?

That the American Federation of Labor has 2278 organizers?

That during the last fiscal year it spent \$285,584.45 for organization work?

That during the same period it paid \$67,912.95 in strike benefits?

That it paid \$75,000 to the trustees of the American Federation of Labor building?

That it paid \$100,201.36 to its office employees?

That its total receipts were \$929,255.65?

That its total expense was \$97,765.65?

That its total receipts from 1881 to April 30, 1920, were \$6,050,867.35?

That its total expense for the period has been \$5,846,876.89?

That for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1920, 77 National and International Unions issued 5448 charters, 1639 were surrendered, that they report a total increase in membership of 377,261, that there were 1255 strikes in which there were 730,056 involved, that of this number 587,479 secured better conditions?

That out of the total number of strikes reported, 706 were won, 186 were compromised and only 88 were lost?

That 24 reduced the hours of labor and 52 secured increases in wages?

That the report of the executive council to the fortieth annual convention dealt with over 100 different subjects and that it contains 232 printed pages?

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That during the last fiscal year 1,525,848 pieces of mail were sent out from the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor?

That there are 299 organizations of labor affiliated with the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico?

That the American Federation of Labor accomplished the defeat of the following measures hostile to labor during the last Congress:

1. Defeated effort by Senator Myers to deprive employees who are members of organized labor of the benefits of the retirement bill.
2. Defeated effort to deprive Panama Canal employees of the war bonus given Federal employees.
3. Defeated anti-strike clause in the Cummins bill.
4. Defeated labor clauses in the Esch bill, providing that unions would be financially liable for damages to railroads in the event of a strike.
5. Defeated Webster amendment to the Esch bill providing that not only unions but the individual members should be liable for damages to railroads during a strike.
6. Defeated efforts to strike from the deficiency bill clause which exempts labor and the farmers' organizations from prosecution under the anti-trust act.
7. Defeated effort in the House to strike prohibition of "Taylor system" from the naval appropriation bill.
8. Defeated effort to eliminate the \$240 bonus for Federal employees from the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill.

The foregoing is but a brief sketch of some of the activity of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions, taken from the annual report of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.

However, it will serve to give some idea of the extent of the American labor movement.

It will serve to show that nothing that the Congress can do, nothing that the executive and judicial powers of the Government can do, but that it will affect labor in some way. It will serve to show that the American Federation of Labor is not a "sinking ship," that it has "outlived its usefulness," as claimed by organizations that fight the

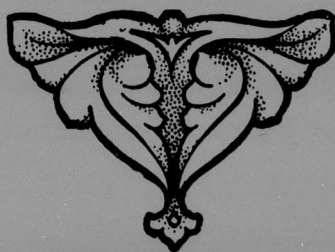
legitimate labor movement of this country. It will serve to show that the American Federation of Labor is ever alert in the interests of the toilers of this country.

If this much can be accomplished by only a little over 4,000,000 organized workers, how much more could be done if we had them all organized? There would not be any question as to the result. It is not those who are in the labor movement who are slow, who retard its progress, but it is those who are out that keep it back. The American Federation of Labor can progress only as fast as the workers organize under its banner. As long as there are wage earners who will not organize, as long as there are workers who are organized who will lend their aid to an impossible movement, those who are negative and not affirmative, just so long will the progress of the organized workers be held back. It is not necessary that the men and women of labor surrender their ideas, that they surrender their personality, but it is necessary that they abide by a decision of the majority, when once a program is adopted it is necessary that they back it to the limit regardless of however they may have differed while striving for the five million mark!

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Mechanics' Lien Law Explained

By L. J. ALLEN.

Persons Entitled to Liens.

The following persons are entitled to mechanics' liens: Machanics, material-men, contractors, sub-contractors, artisans, architects, machinists, builders, miners, teamsters, draymen and all persons and laborers of every class performing labor upon or bestowing skill or other necessary services, or furnishing materials to be used or consumed in, or furnishing appliances, teams, and power contributing to, the construction, alteration, addition to, or repair of, property subject to liens. (Sec. 1183, C. C. P.)

A special lien is given by Section 1191, C. C. P., upon lots or tracts of land for grading, filling and other improvements, including such work for the street or sidewalk in front or adjoining the same, and for the work of constructing areas, vaults, cellars, or rooms under the sidewalk, or for other improvements in connection with the lot or tract of land. If such improvements must be accepted by a municipal board or officer, the time for filing such liens commences to run only after the acceptance has been made. (Sec. 1191, C. C. P.)

A special lien is given under Section 1191a, C. C. P., to a person who, at the instance of the health officer or governing board of a city, town, or sanitary district, has connected a dwelling house and the plumbing therein with the public sewer after the failure or refusal of the owner to do so upon notice from such health officer or board. (Sec. 1191a, C. C. P.)

Objects Subject to Liens.

The following objects are subject to mechanics' liens: Buildings, wharves, bridges, ditches, flumes, aqueducts, wells, tunnels, fences, machinery, railroads, wagon roads, mines, mining claims, and other structures. (Sec. 1183, C. C. P.)

For What Liens are Given.

Mechanics' liens are given for the value of the labor done and materials furnished, and for the value of the use of such appliances, teams, or power, as contributing to the construction of the object upon which the lien is filed. (Sec. 1183, C. C. P.)

Who May Order Labor on Materials for Which Liens are Filed.

The work or materials for which liens may be filed may be ordered either by and at the instance of the owner, or of any other person acting by his authority or under him as contractor or otherwise; and every contractor, sub-contractor, architect, builder, or other person, having charge of the construction, alteration, addition to, or repair of any building or improvement, is held to be the agent of the owner within the meaning of the mechanics' lien law. In the case of mines, the work may be ordered by the owner or his agent and every contractor, sub-contractor, superintendent or other person having charge of any mining or related work, either as lessee or under a working bond or contract thereon, is held to be the agent of the owner for the purposes of the mechanics' lien law. (Sec. 1183, P. P. C.)

Nature, Amount and Extent of Liens and Contractor's Bond.

Mechanics' liens are direct liens and except in the case of the contractor are not limited as to amount by any contract price agreed upon between the contractor and the owner, except as hereinafter mentioned. Liens, however, shall not in any case exceed in amount the reasonable value of the labor done or materials furnished, or both, nor must they exceed the price agreed upon for the work or labor, or both, between the claimant and the person by whom he was employed, and in case the claimant was employed by a contractor or sub-contractor the lien shall not extend to any labor or materials not embraced within or covered by

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the original contract or any modification thereof, of which contract or modification the claimant shall have had actual notice before performing the labor or furnishing the materials, and the filing of such original contract or modification in the county recorder's office of the county, where the property is situated before the commencement of the work is equivalent to the giving of actual notice by the owner to all persons performing work or furnishing materials thereunder. (Sec. 1183, C. C. P.)

If, before the commencement of the work, the original contract is filed in the recorder's office of the county where the property is situated, together with a bond of the contractor with good and sufficient sureties in an amount not less than 50 per cent of the contract price, which bond shall, in addition to conditions for the performance of the contract, be also conditioned for the payment in full of the claims of all persons performing labor or furnishing materials, and shall by its terms be made to inure to the benefit of all persons performing labor or furnishing materials, so as to give such persons any suit to foreclose liens or in a separate suit on the bond, the court must, where it would be equitable so to do, restrict the recovery under mechanics' liens to an aggregate amount equal to the amount found to be due from the owner to the contractor and render judgment against the contractor and his sureties on the bond for any deficiency. The statute provides that changes or alterations of the work or modifications of the contract shall not release the sureties on such bond. (Sec. 1183, C. C. P.)

It is the intent of the law to limit the owner's liability to the amount of the contract price where the statutory bond is filed with the contract, but to give laborers and materialmen direct liens, notwithstanding the amount of the contract, where that is not done. The owner is allowed to further protect himself by requiring any additional security or bonds which he may see fit. (Sec. 1183, C. C. P.)

The owner and contractor can not, by their contract or otherwise, waive, affect or impair the claims and liens of other persons without the written consent of such other persons, and hence any term of the contract to that effect is null and void. (Sec. 1201, C. C. P.)

Contents of Liens.

Liens must be filed for record with the county recorder of the county in which the property sought to be charged with the lien, or some part thereof, is situated. The recorder must record the claims in a special book for that purpose, which must be indexed the same as deeds and other conveyances, and the recorder receives the same fees as are allowed for recording deeds and other conveyances. (Secs. 1187, 1189, C. C. P.)

The claim of lien must contain:

1. A statement of the demand of the lien claimant after deducting all just credits and offsets.
2. The name of the owner or reputed owner, if known.
3. A general statement of the kind of work done or materials furnished, or both.
4. The name of the person by whom the claimant was employed or to whom he furnished the materials.
5. A description of the property sought to be charged with the lien sufficient for identification. (Sec. 1187, C. C. P.)

Claims must be verified by the oath of the claimant or some other person. (Sec. 1187, C. C. P.)

No mistake or error in the statement of the demand or of the amount of credits and offsets or of the balance claimed to be due, or in the description of the property, invalidates the lien unless the court finds that such mistake or error was made with intent to defraud, or unless the court finds that an innocent third party, without notice has, since the claim was filed, become the bona fide owner of the property liened upon and that the notice of lien was so deficient that it did not put the party upon further inquiry in any manner. (Sec. 1203, C. C. P.)

Time to File Liens.

Original contractors must file their liens within sixty days after the completion of their contracts. Other persons may file their liens at any time after they have ceased to perform labor or furnish materials, or both, and until thirty days after the completion of the work or improvement. In case the owner does not file a notice of completion, all lien

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claimants have ninety days after the completion of the improvement within which to file their claims of lien. While it may be true that lien claimants may calculate the period for filing liens from the date of recording of the notice of completion since the filing of the notice of completion is deemed to be a completion within the meaning of the law, the safe course is to calculate the time for filing liens from the date of completion stated in the notice of completion where such notice is filed. This date must be within ten days prior to the recording of the notice, so there will be at least twenty days after the recording of the notice of completion in all cases within which claimants other than the contractor can file their liens. (Sec. 1187, C. C. P.)

False Liens.

Any person giving a false notice of his claim to the owner in a withhold notice or wilfully including in his lien work or materials not performed upon or furnished for the property described in the lien, forfeits his lien. (Secs. 1202 and 1184c, C. C. P.)

What Amounts to a Completion for the Purpose of Filing Liens.

Any trivial imperfection in the work or in the completion of any contract by any lien claimant shall not be deemed such a lack of completion as to prevent the filing of a lien, and in all cases any of the following shall be deemed equivalent to a completion for all of the purposes of the mechanics' lien law:

1. The occupation or use of a building, improvement or structure by the owner or his representative accompanied by cessation from labor thereon.
2. The acceptance by the owner or his agent of the building, improvement or structure.
3. Cessation from labor for thirty days upon any contract or upon any building, improvement or structure or upon the alteration, addition to, or repair thereof.
4. The filing of the notice of completion. (Sec. 1187, C. C. P.)

Notice of Completion.

The owner is required to file for record within ten days after the completion of any contract or improvement, or within ten days after there has been a cessation from labor thereon for a period of thirty days, a notice of completion. This notice must be filed in the office of the county recorder of the county where the property is situated, and must set forth the following matters:

1. The date when the contract or improvement was completed or on which cessation from labor occurred.
2. The name of the owner.
3. The nature of the owner's title.
4. A description of the property sufficient for identification. The notice must be verified by the owner or some other person on his behalf. The recording fee for filing the same is \$1. The penalty for the failure of the owner to file the notice is an extension of time for filing all liens to ninety days after the completion of the improvement. (Sec. 1187, C. C. P.)

Land Subject to Liens.

The property upon which the lien rests is the land upon which the building, improvement, well, or other structure is constructed, together with a convenient space about the same, or so much as may be required for the convenient use and occupation thereof, to be determined by the court on rendering judgment. If the person who caused the building, improvement, well, or other structure to be constructed, however, owned less than a fee simple estate in the land, then only his interest therein is subject to the lien, provided, however, that where the work or improvement has been constructed, altered, or repaired with the knowledge of the owner or any person having or claiming an estate in the land, the work or improvement is deemed to have been constructed at the instance of the owner or person having or claiming an estate in the land, and their interests are subject to the lien unless they shall, within ten days after obtaining knowledge of the work or improvement, give notice that they will not be responsible by posting a notice to that effect in a conspicuous place upon the property and by filing for record a verified copy of the notice in the county recorder's office. This notice is generally referred

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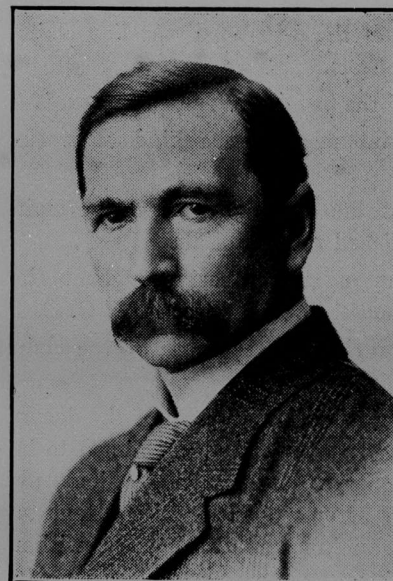
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W. A. SLOANE



Associate Justice
of the Supreme Court
of California

Candidate for election to succeed himself for the remaining two years of the unexpired term of the late Justice Melvin which position he now holds by appointment from Governor Stephens.

to as a notice of non-responsibility and must contain besides the general statement of the facts:

1. A description of the property sufficient for identification.
2. The name of the owner or party giving the notice.
3. The nature of the title or interest of the person giving the notice.

The notice may be verified by anyone having a knowledge of the facts on behalf of the person giving the notice. (Secs. 1185, 1192, C. C. P.)

Notice of a Non-Responsibility.

This is a notice given by an owner or other person other than the party actually constructing a work or improvement subject to liens, and must be given within ten days after the owner or other person obtains knowledge of the work or improvement, or else the owner's or other person's interest in the property is subject to liens filed for materials and labor used in the performance of the work. The manner of giving the notice and contents of the notice are specified under the heading "Land Subject to Liens." (Sec. 192, C. C. P.)

Priorities as Between Liens and Other Encumbrances.

Mechanics' liens take precedence over any lien, mortgage, or other encumbrance which attached subsequent to the time when the work or improvement was commenced or materials were commenced to be furnished. They are also preferred to any lien, mortgage or other encumbrance of which the lien claimant had no notice and which was unrecorded at the time of the commencement of the work or furnishing of the material. (Sec. 1186, C. C. P.)

Liens Upon Two or More Pieces of Property.

If one claim is filed against two or more buildings or other objects upon which liens may be filed owned by the same person, the lien claimant must at the same time designate the amount due him on each of said buildings or other objects subject to lien. Otherwise, the lien of the claimant is postponed to other liens. The lien of the claimant does not extend beyond the amount designated as against other creditors having liens upon either of the buildings or other lien objects. (Sec. 1188, C. C. P.)

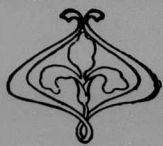
Time of Continuance of Lien and Lien Suits.

No mechanics' lien extends for longer than ninety days after the same is filed unless suit is brought to enforce the lien within that time in a court having jurisdiction, unless a credit has been given, in which case the ninety-day period is calculated from the expiration of the term of the credit, but the agreement to give credit is not allowed to extend the life of the lien without suit for longer than one year from the time the work is completed. In case the court proceedings are not brought to trial within two years after the commencement of suit, the court in its discretion may dismiss the suit for want of prosecution and any such dismissal, unless expressly stated to be without prejudice, is equivalent to a cancellation and removal of the lien from the record. A judgment that no lien exists has the same effect. (Sec. 1190, C. C. P.)

In a lien suit the contractor is allowed to recover only such amount as may be due him according to the contract after deducting all claims of other parties for work done and materials furnished and included within the contract. Where liens are filed for work done or materials furnished to the contractor, he shall defend the action brought thereon at his own expense, and while the action is pending the owner may withhold the amount of money for which the lien is filed, and if judgment is obtained against the owner or his property the amount of the judgment

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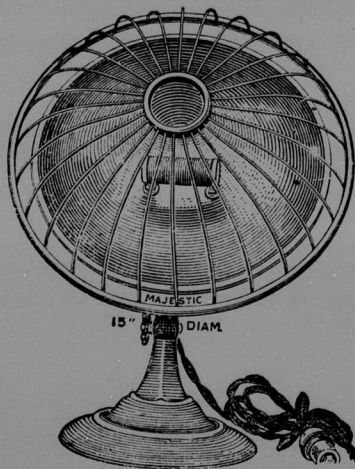


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may be deducted by the owner from any amount due or to become due to the contractor, and if the amount of the judgment exceeds the amount due the contractor, or if the owner has previously settled with the contractor in full, the owner is entitled to recover back from the contractor or his sureties on any bond given for the performance of the contract any amount paid by the owner in excess of the contract price and for which the contractor was originally the party liable. (Sec. 1193, C. C. P.)

No act of the owner, in compliance with the provisions of the mechanics' lien law, can be held to be a prevention of the performance of the owner's contract with the contractor or to exonerate the sureties on the contractor's bond, provided that the owner's act is done in good faith and without design to injure or harass anyone. (Sec. 1193, C. C. P.)

Where there is a sale of property subject to liens in a suit brought to enforce such liens, and there is a deficiency of proceeds of sale, judgment for the deficiency may be docketed against the party personally liable for such a deficiency if he is a party to the action in the same way as upon foreclosures of mortgages. (Sec. 1194, C. C. P.)

Any number of lien claimants may join in the same action, and when separate actions are commenced the court may consolidate them. (Sec. 1195, C. C. P.)

Attorneys' fees are not allowed in mechanics' lien actions, but the court may allow as a part of the costs the money paid for verifying and recording the lien. (Sec. 1195, C. C. P.)

The mechanics' lien law and the filing of liens thereunder does not prevent a person from maintaining personal action to recover his claim against the person liable therefor, and the person bringing such personal action may take out an attachment notwithstanding his lien.

The judgment in such personal action does not impair or merge the lien, if any, of the party bringing the action, but any money collected on the judgment must be credited on the amount of the lien.

Except where special provisions exist in the mechanics' lien law, mechanics' lien suits are conducted under the general rules and practice applicable to other suits. (Secs. 1198, 1199, C. C. P.)

Attachments of Materials.

When materials have been furnished for use in the construction, alteration or repair of any building or other improvement, the same are not subject to attachment, execution or other legal process to enforce a debt due for the purchase money of the materials so long as in good faith the materials are about to be applied to the construction, alteration or repair of such building or other improvement. (Sec. 1196, C. C. P.)

Withhold Notices—Nature and Contents of Notice.

Withhold notices are notices given by a laborer or materialman to

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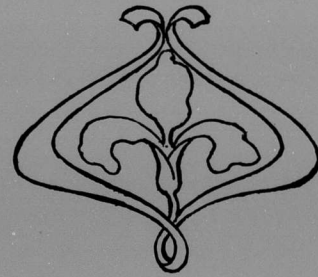


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the owner, notifying the owner that he has performed labor or furnished materials, or both, to the contractor or other person acting by authority of the owner, or that he has agreed to do so. Such notices must state:

1. The kind of labor and materials.
2. The name of the person to or for whom the same was done or furnished, or both.
3. The amount in value, as near as may be stated, of that already done or furnished, or both, and of the whole agreed to be done or furnished, or both.

The notice must be verified by the claimant or by some person acting in his behalf. No notice is invalid by reason of any defect in form, provided it is sufficient to inform the owner of the substantial matters referred to above. (Sec. 1184, C. C. P.)

Any person giving a false notice forfeits his right to participate in the fund withheld. (Sec. 1184c, C. C. P.)

Time to Give Notice.

Withhold notices may be given at any time prior to the expiration of the period within which claims of lien must be filed for record. Any person who shall, on written demand of the owner, refuse to give a withhold notice shall thereby deprive himself of the right to claim a lien. (Sec. 1184, C. C. P.)

How Notice is Given.

Withhold notices are given by delivering the same to the owner personally or by leaving them at his residence or place of business with some person in charge, or by delivering them to his architect, if any. In the case of public property or public contracts, the notice must be filed in the office of the controller, auditor or other public disbursing officer whose duty it is to make payments under the provisions of the contract. (Sec. 1181, C. C. P.)

What Required of Owner on Receiving Notice.

On receiving a withhold notice it is lawful for the owner to withhold, and in the case of public work the body or officer in charge of such work is required to withhold, from the contractor sufficient money due or that may become due to the contractor to answer the claim of the party giving the notice and any lien that may be filed therefor, including the reasonable cost of any litigation thereunder. (Sec. 1184, C. C. P.)

Suit on Withhold Notice and Time for Bringing Same.

Suit may not be commenced upon a withhold notice prior to the expiration of the period within which claims of lien must be filed for record, nor shall suit be brought upon such notice later than ninety days following the expiration of the period for filing liens. Any number of persons giving the notice may join in the same action and when separate actions are brought they may be consolidated and the owner may himself file a suit requiring claimants to determine their claims between themselves. (Sec. 1184a, C. C. P.)

Disposal of Withhold Moneys.

If the money withheld by the owner is insufficient to pay all claims in full, the amount of the fund shall be distributed among the claimants pro rata without regard to the order of priority in filing notices or bringing suits. Parties giving the notice have a right of action against the contractor and the sureties on his bond for any deficit that may remain unpaid after such pro rata distribution. (Secs. 1183 and 1184b, C. C. P.)

Embezzlement or Misappropriation of Funds by Contractor.

The Penal Code now contains the following provision with reference to the embezzlement or misappropriation of building funds by contractors:

"And any contractor who appropriates money paid to him for any use or purpose, other than for that which he received it, is guilty of embezzlement, and the payment of laborers and materialmen for work performed or material furnished in the performance of any contract is hereby declared to be the use and purpose to which the contract price of such contract, or any part thereof, received by the contractor shall be applied." (Sec. 506, P. C.)

The cry "Produce! Produce! Produce!" falls on ears turned cynical and skeptical, if not deaf. The working classes have lost faith in the employing classes; and they have lost it for several excellent reasons.—Henry Marriott, English Co-operative News.

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The General Strike

-:-

By JEAN JAURES.

(Jean Jaures, one of the most eminent leaders of the Socialists of France, is the author of this article, which appeared first in 1901 as part of his book entitled "Etudes Socialistes." During the recent general strike, last May, it was republished in the "L'Information Ouvriere et Sociale," from which this translation was made.)

When I speak of the general strike, I must first define the meaning of the term. Of course, it does not mean a general strike of a single organization. For instance, if the mine workers of entire France should decide by a majority vote to go on strike for an eight-hour day, an increase of pensions, or a minimum wage, it would be a strike of great magnitude and importance, and one might term it a general strike of the mineworkers. But this is not the kind of strike that is meant by those who advocate a general strike for the emancipation of labor. They have not in mind a strike movement limited to the members of a single organization, no matter how large it may be. On the other hand, it would be equally incorrect to say that there can not be a general strike unless all wage workers of every kind of productive enterprise cease work simultaneously. Working people are too scattered and diversely situated to reach such unanimity of action, even if it could be conceived as possible.

But the term general strike has another meaning which is both clear and comprehensive. It means that the most important organizations, those that dominate or occupy key positions in the field of production and industry, shall cease work simultaneously. If, for instance, the railroad workers, the miners, the longshoremen, the metal workers, the employees in the textile industry and the cotton mills, and the building trades in the big cities, should all at the same time cease work, that would be a

general strike. And to constitute a general strike, it is not even necessary that all the workers in those occupations should participate in the strike. It is sufficient if the industrial organizations in which capitalistic power is most concentrated or in which labor is best organized, and which are key positions in the economic system, decide to lay down their tools, and it will be sufficient if such numbers only obey the call as will produce a suspension of operations in those particular industries.

To a general strike, thus constituted, there can not be brought the objection that it is illusory or ineffective. In the measure that labor becomes organized such a concerted movement becomes possible. When such movements occur they are likely to produce great influence upon the management of any such industry. For it is no longer confronted by a single organization, no matter how great and powerful, but by a mass of organizations, and a class movement is in operation. And how can a movement affecting the entire field of production fail to produce some result?

But, right here, we must avoid ambiguity. One must not imagine that the term general strike possesses some magic virtues or that a general strike in itself will bring about absolute or unconditional success. A general strike becomes practical or foolish, useful or disastrous, according to the conditions prevailing when it is launched, the means it employs, or the aims it seeks to accomplish.

To my mind, there are three conditions essential to make a general strike successful: (1) The object for which it is declared must deeply and powerfully impress the whole working class: (2) it is necessary that the general opinion among the working people holds this object to be lawful; (3) it is necessary that the general strike do not assume the

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character of threatening violence or be simply undertaken to maintain the legal right to strike, but it must assume much greater and intelligent aspects leading to the impression of a great class struggle.

And, first above all things, it is necessary that the mass of organized workers attach a great importance to the object for which the strike is declared. Neither the resolutions adopted by big conventions, nor the programs prepared by working men's committees will be sufficient to stir the masses of working-people into a struggle of doubtful outcome. To endure hardships and misery, even to escape undesirable surroundings, requires great energy. But such energy can not be awakened in an entire mass except through intense feeling. And such feeling can be aroused to the point of action and conflict only if the object is both great and immediate, that is, if it be both important and possible of immediate realization.

For instance, we know how the better organized trades, the most intelligent, by means of widespread and skilled propaganda, succeed in arousing a desire for the eight-hour day, old age and invalidity pensions, and reliable unemployment insurance. We know, if the authorities resist or evade the issues, how the workers, deeply offended, arouse sufficient energy to declare a big and protracted strike. In such cases, they strike for big and desirable stakes, thoroughgoing reforms, and they fight for definite and attainable ends. Unless the object of the strike is of that kind, they will refuse to obey the call.

But it is not sufficient that the proletariat is really awake and stirred up. It is not sufficient that the workers obey their inner voice instead of an exterior command. It is also necessary that a large portion of them are convinced that their demands are just and immediately obtainable. Every general strike must necessarily involve hardships in the economic relations; it will inconvenience everybody and prove harmful to the interests of great numbers. The general opinion of the country—and particularly of the very important class of wage workers who are not involved in the strike movement—is sure to turn with great force against those considered responsible for the prolongation of the conflict. But such public opinion will not condemn the capitalistic class, unless by a vigorous and intelligent propaganda the strikers succeed in convincing the public of the justness of their demands, that they are practical, and should be granted without delay. In such case public opinion will cry out against the selfishness of big business, the partiality or indifference of the authorities, and thus the general strike becomes a signal success. On the other hand, if the indifferent public is not informed or convinced, it will turn against the strikers and denounce them. And as no force, not even a revolutionary movement, can prevail

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against the opinion of an entire people, the working class will in such a case meet an extensive defeat.

Finally, I desire to say that if the general strike is declared and conceived not as the exercise of the larger and more intimately connected legal right to strike but as the forerunner and the beginning of a violent revolution, it will evoke at once a terrorist reaction against which the militant faction of the proletariat will be powerless.

Nevertheless, it is just this conception that has attracted the thoughts of those who embrace the theory of the general strike. They believe that a general strike of the principal organizations will be sufficient to bring about the social revolution, that is to say the fall of the capitalist system and the advent of democratic and proletarian communism. They think that the economic life of the country will be totally suspended, that the railroads will be abandoned and the oil necessary to run the industries left in the ground. The ships will no longer unload their cargoes at the wharves; all production will stop and there will be want and misery all over the land. The workers by refusing to work and permit the exchange of commodities will starve themselves, and driven by hunger they will take recourse to violence and take what they need wherever they can lay their hands on it. They will be driven to attack those who are better off than they, and every privileged class will go down before the fury of the famished and emboldened mob. There will be many clashes between the workers and the besotted guardians of the capitalistic system. And consequently, within a short time, the general strike will have assumed the character of a revolution. And as the capitalistic forces of necessity must divide themselves to protect the scattered persons and property of the rich, the army of police and repression will be surrounded and drowned in the swell of revolution. Thus, the proletariat will overcome the barriers that have held it in check, it will become master of the situation and ready to establish the rule of the working class.

Thus run the ideas, perhaps not in every instance so clear, of those who believe in the theory of the general strike. I do not say that all who loudly proclaim it understand it that way, but I say that all who see in the general strike the means of achieving labor's emancipation necessarily believe it to mean those things.

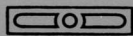
From a revolutionary point of view, however, I think they are wrong. They may try once and fail, and what dangerous tactics to thus expose the working class to irreparable disaster.

It follows, consequently, if we follow their ideas, that the general strike *must succeed the first time it is tried*. For, if a general strike fails, after it has assumed the character of a violent revolution, it will not only leave the capitalist system intrenched but will also arm it with a

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terrible weapon of revenge. The fear of the leaders and the great mass of the public will bring about a long era of reaction, and the working class must remain for a long time defenseless, beaten and bound.

Are there, then, any chances of success through a general strike? I do not think so. The working class will not rise in rebellion to establish a general maxim or phrase, such as the establishment of communism. The idea of a social revolution will not suffice to urge it on. Ideas of socialism and communism are sufficient only to guide and influence the efforts made from time to time by the proletariat. The working class organizes and fights under their guidance in order to reach them gradually and eventually. But to inspire a great movement the idea of a social revolution must take much more precise form and be expressed in clearer demands.

To persuade the workers to desert in a body the shops and factories and engage in a life and death struggle full of unknown perils against the forces of society and government, and take up the cry of "communism" will fail. For, immediately the question will be raised by them: "But, what shall we do then, after we have won?" And big movements do not grow out of such uncertain and nebulous things. They must have solid support, and start from what is known and proceed to what all can see.

Those best informed of the theory of the general revolutionary strike understand it well. Therefore, they would seek to set the working class in motion by framing and substantial demands. And they hope that the movement, once begun, may enlarge itself and become revolutionary.

But, herein lies the real vice of their tactics. *They deceive the workers.* They propose, by means of such machinery and its irresistible force, to carry the workers beyond the point indicated to them in the beginning. By means of a few concrete and immediate, practical proposals for improvement in conditions, they persuade them to participate in the movement of a general strike in the hope that as soon as drawn into the machinery they will automatically be led into the communist revolution.

I say, in a democracy such is not the meaning of a revolution. I say that there is and can be a revolution only where it is consciously such, and that those who construct a machinery to lead the workingmen without their knowledge or desire into revolution, by surprise or trick, go the wrong way in bringing about a revolution.

If the working class is not wittingly informed, from the beginning, that it is striking to establish the complete communist revolution; if the workers do not know, when they leave the mines, roundhouse, shops

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and factories, that they are not to return until they have accomplished the whole social revolution; if they are not from the first hour, and to the bottom of their hearts, prepared and resolved, they will become confused in the course of their undertaking, if they only gradually be informed of a plan that was not revealed to them before they acted. And no trick, no legerdemain, or sudden discovery, will serve as well as if the object had been known from the start.

To imagine that a social revolution is the result of a misunderstanding and that the proletariat can be stampeded, is, I may be pardoned for saying it, but childishness. All social relations can not thus be totally transformed by a simple accident.

On the other hand, if the working class be informed beforehand, if the workers be told when leaving work that they are not to return until they have abolished capitalism, their instincts and reason will tell them that not by leaving work for a few days, but only after gigantic efforts of organization continued for a long time and after many transformations shall have been accomplished, will it be possible to rebuild a social structure so complicated as ours. As soon as informed of such an object, the workers would fall back before such an uncertain and crude project, as if before an abyss.

There is another stratagem proposed in the revolutionary tactics of the general strike. Some of these theorists say:

"It might be difficult to persuade the proletariat to enter into movement for the use of deliberate force. It is unaccustomed to such for a long period, and would not be likely at once to throw itself into such a movement at a signal from the militant organizations. On the other hand, the strike has become more and more a weapon in the hands of the working class, and these strikes have grown in magnitude. It might not, therefore, be difficult to persuade the working class to engage in a general strike. In the beginning, such would be only an extension of its usual mode of fighting. And besides, which is quite important, it would be a lawful movement. The law permits strikes, and does not and can not limit them. Consequently, when the proletariat opens a general strike, it knows itself to be within the law. Knowing themselves backed by the law upon entering the strike, there are many workers, who would hold back from premeditated use of force or revolutionary action, but who would not hesitate to manifest their opposition to social wrong in a threatening manner, even though in the beginning they would not do it as cold-bloodedly. Besides, what might be termed the repressive or preventive instinct of capitalism is held back by the legality of the movement in its beginning. Little by little, however, the general strike, the class strike, develops into a big social battle, a revolutionary struggle.

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By suffering, misery, and the inevitable clashes, the passions become excited in the various points of contact between the workers and the capitalists, until just anger seizes on men, so that even the portion of the proletariat which before the beginning of hostilities would have opposed the use of violence soon enough warm up to it until it reaches the revolutionary heating point. And so the old world gets ready for the explosion."

If we go to the bottom of this reasoning, we find it to be the concept and hope of persons who see in such a general strike the means of accomplishing a revolution. To their minds, it is a means leading up toward revolutionary action, to be applied to a working class containing too many inert elements that can be brought into action only by the brutality of events.

They do not exhort the workers, saying: "Take your gun," but they think that a general strike, starting as a lawful strike, will soon lead the workers to arm themselves with weapons. Thus they count upon the revolutionary force of events to supply or complement what the workers lack in revolutionary instinct as men.

I propose to say that this is simply a revolutionary invention. And like every mechanism which has not been repeatedly tested out before it is to be used seriously, it exposes to dangerous risk men who in good faith expect it to work. To invent a contrivance for inciting revolutionary action, something that so much of human suffering, misery and injustice has failed to accomplish, is indeed the work of dreamers.

It has been said that a revolution is not instituted or declared. And by stronger reasoning we may say that it is not made, and that there is no machinery for producing it, however powerful or ingenious, that can serve the purpose as well as the revolutionary preparation that comes from events and the minds of men. Hence, it will not suffice to declare a general strike and thereafter expect to succeed by revolution. For, as it may happen, though the workers in the beginning might desire to start something big, in the belief that they are acting lawfully, they will hesitate to use force when they begin to see the falsity of such notion. The die that is tossed in the air, may turn up its violent face,



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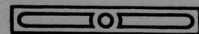


Something the Public Should Know

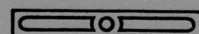
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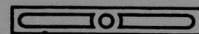


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or it may turn up its indifferent face. A cornet player can not play forever, he will take a rest, and expect to play again. But where the leaders count upon unknown and occult forces, quite unexpected and unforeseen things may frustrate their expectations. In one case, their play may result in revolutionary action, in another it may remain in its legal channels and soon die out. A revolutionary movement which is not guided by the reasoned determination of those who attempt it, becomes the sport of local circumstances and will function fitfully. As a consequence, there will arise discord and distrust and it will end in the defeat of the revolutionary spirit.

It is true, in history, that events of small consequence have developed into great and unexpected results. But such developments can not be calculated, and there is no general procedure, so far as we know, unless it be the general strike, that begins in a legal way and winds up into a revolution.

Besides, and this is the point which constitutes the illusion of so many militants. We have no proof or demonstration of the fact, that a general strike, even if it becomes revolutionary, can make an end of the capitalistic system. Bourgeois society will develop its resistance in exact proportion as its interests are at stake. This means that if the general strike threatens her further existence she will fight with all resources at her command and spare nothing to be saved.

Therefore, neither the stoppage of all production and all exchange, nor the violent appropriation of property or personal danger will suffice to overthrow society. How powerful we may think a revolutionary general strike might be, it would be a small thing compared to wars and invasions by big nations. Great wars also stop production and interfere with trade, and almost kill the economic life of vast regions. Yet the nations endure these mortal blows with great elasticity of resistance, and successfully avoid the intended annihilation by the enemy.

I need not refer to the Hundred Years' War in France, or the Thirty Years' War in Germany. Notwithstanding unutterable misery and savagery, sieges, ravaging and burning of cities and farms, through hunger and death, national life subsisted. In modern societies, in middle-class



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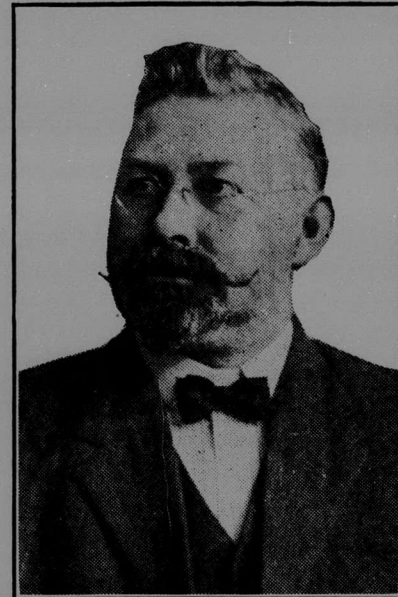
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THE SALVATION ARMY

For the purpose of rendering a social service more state-wide in character The Salvation Army has this year extended its work through the medium of advisory boards into every county of California.

These boards are composed of some of the most representative professional, business and trades union men and women in their respective communities. They are volunteering their services to assist and supervise the work of The Army. These boards have a membership of more than 700.

A state advisory board, John L. McNab, chairman, serves as a central executive body for the county advisory boards. This state board has just approved the letting of a contract for the erection of a new main building for The Army's home for boys and girls at Lytton. This same board has also approved the purchase of a site for a new rescue and maternity home for girls in Oakland.

Both of these activities, the one at Lytton and the other in Oakland are to play a prominent part in The Army's work for the new year. The new home at Lytton is to replace the one destroyed by fire last Spring. It will be a fire-proof, re-inforced concrete structure, proof against such disasters as that of a few months ago that visited the home.

At the present time the majority of the children are housed under temporary shelter and it is planned to have the new quarters ready before the rainy season begins. The new building together with the cottages now in use will give the home accommodations for approximately 300 children.

The new building will be devoted to administrative offices, general dining-room and dormitory for girls. The entrance leads into a large reception lobby. To one side are the executive offices and to the other a main parlor, girls' parlor, writing rooms and a recreation room.

The dining-room is to be attractively finished and furnished. The refrigerating plant will be an important adjunct to the kitchen. The second floor is to be devoted exclusively to rooms for the girls, the matron and her assistants. There will be accommodations for approximately 100 girls.

The Lytton home was established by The Army nearly fifteen years ago to provide for the abandoned, and orphaned child. The boys and girls are given real home training, the officers having the relation of parents to the children. In addition to the grammar and higher schooling afforded the children the boys are trained along agricultural lines, being given practical lessons in the various departments of the big farm operated by the home. The girls on the other hand are trained in home duties and along the lines of domestic science. The home comprises approximately 700 acres devoted to diversified farming.

Ample recreation privileges are provided for the children. There is an athletic field and track, a swimming pool and a modern building for indoor games and sports.

The new rescue and maternity hospital for girls in Oakland will replace a structure that has served The Army for more than twenty-eight years. For the past year or more this home has been severely over-taxed and utterly inadequate to meet the demands made on it. At the present time every available bed is taken and cots have been placed in the hallways to accommodate urgent cases. The new home will have a capacity of 60 girls or about twice that of the present building.

The Army operates two of these homes in California, the one in Oakland, and another in Los Angeles. The doors of these two homes are open to girls in distress, regardless of race or creed. These two homes annually provide for about 200 girls and within these homes an average of 150 babies are born each year. In the Oakland home a few months ago one girl mother presented The Army with quadruplets, all girls, three of whom survived. The girls seeking refuge in these homes range in age from thirteen years up, the average being about fifteen years. Records of The Army show that owing to the attention given them, more than 80 per cent of the girls are completely restored to society and never repeat their offense.

life of today, we often witness great calamities and horrors. Since 1793, the society that arose out of the French Revolution underwent or inflicted upon itself immense wounds, and endured hardships so great that no general strike could produce anything as dreadful. Think only when out of a population of but twenty-five millions, no less than one million and a half were taken to defend the frontiers, while at the same time there raged a civil war and foreign war throughout the length and breadth of France and all around it. One-half of France was fighting the other half, while the dry summer ruined the harvests. There was no grain to buy, as every district kept what little it produced. Though not invested Paris suffered as from a real siege, the people standing in long lines at the doors of the bakeshops to buy the pitifully small rations of bread. The value of the paper money shrank to almost nothing, thus producing further misery among the masses. Yet, in the midst of this welter of misery, France lived, and French society defended itself against every internal and foreign foe, and shortly assumed the offensive on every front. One may take a city by starving it out, but one can not thus starve a nation or society. In 1870-1871 one-third of France was occupied and Paris beleaguered; and civil war succeeded the war with the enemy; a terrible ransom was exacted from the nation, and in spite of all the deep resources of national life remained intact, and a short time after peace had been signed the national life flowed on, as prosperous as in any times of the past.

Supposing even that a general revolutionary strike closes the ports, stalls the locomotives, destroys the railroads, and that the workers take possession of certain big districts, that they threaten the provisioning of some of the big cities and the capital, we shall see the great necessities of the situation bring forth new and unexpected resources. If necessary the general consumption can be reduced immensely, and human nature will accustom itself to privations, just as during a long siege the garrison accustoms itself to a life which even the bravest in ordinary times would shudder to think of. And if bourgeois society and private property refuse to yield, if the majority of the people oppose the new order which the general strike would unexpectedly seek to press upon them, we may rest assured that bourgeois society and individual property will find the means to live and defend themselves, and ultimately to revive the shattered economic structure and rebuild it on reactionary lines.

There are those who think that because the general strike would begin in many places at the same time, the capitalist government will be forced to divide its armed forces over such a vast territory that they might be swallowed up by the revolution. But this is an extremely foolish idea. The bourgeois government would first seek to protect all public property and persons, and all the institutions in which by a majority of the people legal authority has been vested. If necessary at the beginning, if it could not protect all these, it would leave exposed to the strikers the railroads and the districts in which the revolutionists be found strongest. It would concentrate its forces and with the immense advantage of the law behind it, the government would soon deal the revolution one strong blow after another, occupying again the centers held by the strikers, re-establishing communications as quickly as it is

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What Do You Spread on Your Bread?

It is not many years ago that the True Westerner would give even a moment's thought to a Substitute for anything. Money was spoken of as Bits; Pennies were unknown. The copper plays a very important part in the commercial world today, same being added to 35 Cents in Good American Money, will purchase 1 Pound of NUCOA NUT MARGARINE.

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The majority of people are not familiar with the importation of raw copra into this country, same being imported from the East Indies, the finest grade of cocoanuts being grown there. These cocoanuts are cracked into pieces, the shell being removed and the copra shipped in this state. This then goes through a refining process, being pressed, from which we use the oil. After the oil has been extracted the meal which is taken from the pieces, is found to be a very rich food for cattle.

The demand is enormous for this product, as it is very nutritious, even after the oil has been extracted. The process of combining the Coconut Oil with the Peanut Oil is a very simple one, and is done in the refineries. The oil, after being transported to the factory, is poured into the milk which has been pasteurized, and this mixture is then placed in the churn, the same process being used as in the ordinary creamery.

The result is a Nut Margarine of the highest quality, which we call NUCOA, the ORIGINAL and ONLY Nut Margarine on the market today, which stays Sweet and gives satisfaction. It has the Butter flavor, and it is a known fact that a pint of Coconut Oil has a thousand more calories than a pint of milk. From a standpoint of nourishment alone, NUCOA is food within itself.

A great many of us are misled by the word Oleomargarine, and we are compelled to brand these goods as such to comply with the Oleomargarine laws passed in 1887, to prevent the public from being misled in regard to the use of butter.

These goods are absolutely PURE, SANITARY and HEALTHFUL. Do not let your pride overcome your prejudice. Remember that this is an American Product, made in California, and one which deserves consideration, especially at these times when prices are reaching the sky.

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done in a territory wrested from a foreign foe, notwithstanding the destruction of bridges and railroads. Even, if the government lost Paris, as in 1871, and with the elements composing Paris such a supposition is not improbable, it would have a point of concentration such as the Kings of France had at Bourges, and Thiers at Versailles, from which the campaign may be organized. And we must not forget, in our days, with the aid of our societies of sharpshooters, gymnastic institutes, and other conservative strongholds and reactionary influences, and aided by the sporting and outdoor habits of the bourgeoisie, the technical knowledge of our military men, small and big capitalists, the exasperated shop-keepers would be capable of immense physical efforts to regain what they lost.

And how would the revolutionists act in the meantime? Where they proved victorious first, they would fight among themselves or exhaust themselves in useless acts of violence. The liberal revolutions of 1830 and 1848 had definite objects in view; to overthrow the centralized government and establish a new one in its place. Thus Blanqui's revolutionary efforts aimed to strike only at the head and the heart. He did not scatter his blows; instead he delivered them where he thought they would do the greatest damage to the government's political power.

But, the aims of the revolutionary general strike are of a different character. This is because such a movement wields economic weapons. It does not permit the leaders to direct the efforts of the workers toward a single point, or to give them an aim that concentrates their individual efforts. The workers are told to stay where they are, at the entrances of the mines and outside the workshops. Even if the workers should take forcible possession of the workshops, they would have a fictitious but no real possession. They could lay their hands on only dead things, as the mine or the shop when not in operation is a lifeless and inert thing. As long as the whole social machinery is not controlled by the working class, their possession of the shops and tools would mean nothing, indeed no more than a man walking along a deserted highway carrying a few cobblestones.

Astonished at their impotence in the midst of their victory, there would be nothing left for the strikers to think of than the use of their powers of destruction. Such deeds of destruction would serve only to mark the uprising of the proletariat by acts of savagery. For, one must keep well in mind that the tactics of the revolutionary general strike is to destroy the economic life and cut it to pieces. To stop the trains and lay up the steamers, refuse coal for the running of the machinery, means to destroy all social co-operation and cut up society into small local groups. But such division of society and social life, is the exact opposite to the idea of revolution.

The middle-class revolution was made by federated bodies that gradually knit themselves closer and closer. Every great revolution is predicated upon an unselfish ideal of life, and this idealization is impossible without an understanding of the common purpose and unity, quickened and kindled into life by intercourse and agitation. Only by organizing a strong force of workers representing and acting along class lines, both economically and politically, may the proletariat ac-

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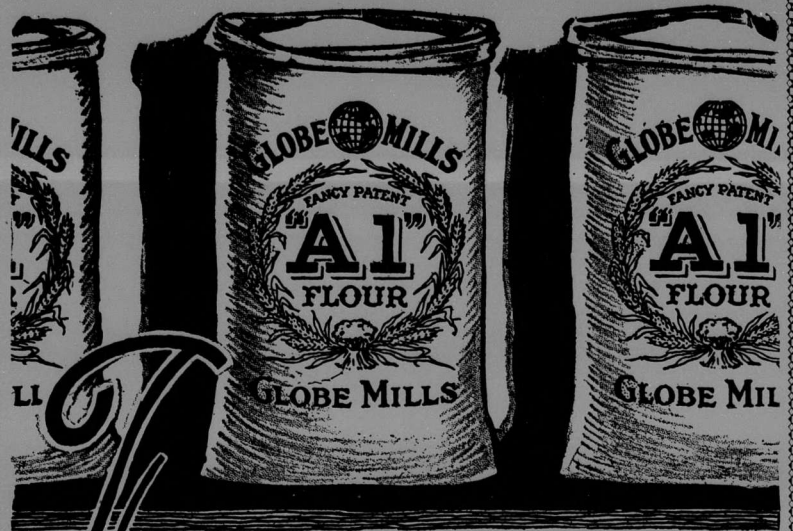
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comply its revolution. Division means only a return to the old feudal conditions. Among the isolated groups, fallen back into a degenerated and inferior state of society, it is the possessing of oligarchies, controlling the means of existence of a passive dependency, that will rule. The rich will remain in power, as temporary rulers of the districts and communities, chiefs and masters of society. And gradually all these little dominions will co-ordinate their efforts and blot out the stagnant revolution, which foolishly believed it could weaken the government by preventing communication, but only succeeded in isolating itself and going to pieces.

Therefore it is absolutely fantastic to hope that the tactics of the revolutionary general strike conducted by a brave, enthusiastic and active minority of workers will succeed. No trick, no surprise, no machinery to drive society into revolution can take the place of socialistic agitation and propaganda to convince the majority of the people.

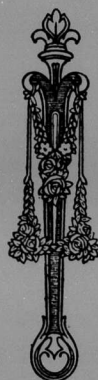
Does this mean that the idea of the general strike is foolish and that such is useless in the great social movements. Not at all. For I have already shown on what conditions and in what form it may accelerate social evolution and improve the conditions of the workers. Secondly, it is a terrible indictment against society that such an idea can ever enter the mind of its workers as a means of their emancipation. Why? Because, at the bottom it is the workers that support the social order. They produce and create. If they stop, everything stops. We may say of them as Mirabeau eloquently exclaimed when the first general strike was announced before the Assembly of the Third Estate, while as yet the working and the middle classes were one: "Take care," said he to the privileged, "that you do not drive to desperation those who produce everything and who, to be feared, have only to stop producing."

The possessing and controlling classes have neglected to grant any real positive power to the workers possessing such a tremendous negative power. They have given or permitted to the working class so little confidence in the possibility of legal evolution that the workers have become almost fascinated with the idea of refusing to work any more. Just think of it, workers refusing to work, the heart refusing to beat.

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To this critical point has society come as the result of the selfish and blind conduct of the privileged and their lack of any reasonable plan for improvement. Toward the abyss of the revolutionary general strike the proletariat feels itself being more and more driven, at the risk of total destruction, and carrying down with it for years social prosperity and progress.

However impotent as a means of revolutionary method, the general strike, nevertheless, is a most important sign of impending revolution. It is a terrible warning to the privileged classes more than a means of liberation for the working class. It is a dumb menace directed against the heart of capitalist society, a menace which even if it breaks out into an impotent blow, proves beyond question the existence of organic disease that can be cured only by thorough treatment.

And should the leaders of society commit the folly to restrict present hard-won liberties, poor as they may be, or prohibit their few means of expression, or if they should abolish the right of universal suffrage, or if by police and employers' measures they should restrict the workers' right to organize into unions or to strike, we may rest assured that the violent general strike would become spontaneously the form of the workers' revolt, their last resort of desperation, intended to strike the enemy at all hazards even if useless for their own protection.

But, the working class would become victims of a deplorable self-delusion and a terrible obsession, if it should assume as a revolutionary means a tactic which is only that of despair. Outside of sudden social convulsions, which cannot be prepared or predicted and which sometimes are history's supreme weapons of defense, there is today for socialism but one supreme method, namely, to legally become the majority.

COTTON GROWN ON DESERT.

Seventy-five million dollars is the estimated value of the 1920 cotton crop now growing largely on what ten years ago was barren desert in California and Arizona.

Figures compiled by the Pacific Cotton Exchange show 260,550 acres planted to long staple cotton this year in the two States.

Of this total 130,000 acres is in the Salt River Valley of Arizona, irrigated almost entirely by the Roosevelt dam, which turned the Arizona desert into a flower garden overnight.

The California acreage is 43,550 and is expected to yield a crop worth \$25,000,000 at present prices. The Arizona crop is expected to bring close to \$50,000,000.

It is the largest cotton acreage yet planted in the Southwest. The bulk of the product is sold to rubber companies for use in automobile tires.

"Petty tipping is an absurd and undemocratic custom which has been brought over here from Europe with much other superfluous luggage, but the kind of wholesale tipping that buys a market for goods is an unfair business practice which needs only to be squarely faced by the honest business men of the country to be generally condemned."—Binghamton (N. Y.) Press.

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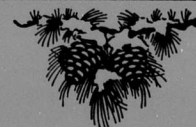
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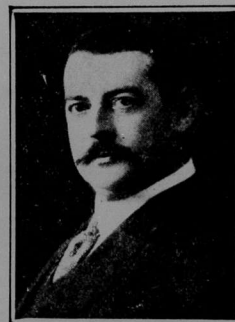


RE-ELECT

JUDGE E. P. SHORTALL

(Incumbent)

JUDGE OF THE
SUPERIOR COURT



RE-ELECT

JUDGE JOHN J.

VAN NOSTRAND

(INCUMBENT)

Superior Judge

Conquest by Colonization

By JOHN S. CHAMBERS, State Controller.

The people of any nation, through their government, possess the inherent right to manage their own internal affairs, and any people worthy of being called, collectively, a nation, will assert and maintain this right to the utmost of their ability. This is "home rule," or as expressed at the Versailles Conference, "Self-determination." There can be no weakening along such a line, when national prestige and national solidarity are involved, without the loss of national stamina and national morale. And this would mean a lower grade of patriotism at home and a lower standing among the nations of the world at large. Neither hope of commercial gain nor fear of international complications would offer for such a course any justification whatsoever. A principle does not admit of argument or compromise.

America is a white man's country. And it will remain a white man's country just as long as the white men of the country have the vision and the courage to keep it so. It may be well to recall that once upon a time it was the red man's country. Perhaps the parallel is not justified; but history teaches that great changes do not come in a day, but through slow development during generations and even centuries.

In the days of Jefferson the government of the United States realized that America must be kept out of entangling alliances if international complications were to be avoided, internal growth promoted and its future safeguarded. So, too, in the days of Monroe, the government of the United States realized that the nations of the Western Hemisphere must be protected against encroachments by European powers that its own security might be firmly established.

Proclaim New Great Policy.

And today the government of the United States faces a duty, based upon the God-given right of self-protection, of proclaiming to the world

another historic policy—the policy that America is now and always shall be a white man's country, that it shall be kept so against armed aggression or so-called peaceful penetration; that the issue is the control of its own internal affairs, including immigration, and that the principle involved is subject to no reservation whatsoever.

But unfortunately the government of the United States, while facing this duty, has not yet appreciated it, much less acted upon it, unless we choose to so consider certain treaties and agreements now known to be totally inadequate to meet the situation. To date, the issue is not a national one in the sense that it is understood as such throughout the nation. It is a Western issue as yet, or so considered; and even then more Coast than Western, and more Californian than Coast.

This is because California with its vast area, the great fertility of its soil, the wonderful variety of its resources, its unlimited water supply, tide-water facilities and mild climate, has appealed tremendously to the possessory desires of the Japanese. They have come here by the tens of thousands; by fair means and foul, they have seized upon our choice lands, have colonized here, there and in between, to the banishment of former white owners and residents; have engaged not only in production but in distribution, and likewise have taken up banking and general business—determined by such means and the record reproduction of their species (all in pursuance of a firm and long-established policy of the Japanese Empire), to possess themselves of this wonderland. Peaceful penetration, first; other means later, if need be, or practicable.

But California, while the greatest sufferer among the States to date, due to its natural attractions and geographical location, is by no means the only victim of this invasion. Oregon and Washington, too, are in the toils; Idaho, Nevada and Arizona, to a lesser extent, also,

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while Colorado, the cotton-growing States of the South and others likewise feel the blight.

The future of the United States of America is tremendously involved in the situation. But were California the only State concerned now, and even if the menace could be confined to California, the Federal Government at Washington owes a distinct duty to it—to each and every State in the Union—to protect it, when, because of the Federal Constitution and international relations, the State concerned cannot properly protect itself. The Japanese menace today threatens not only California and the Pacific Coast, but the Western States of America and eventually the United States at large.

The California Blight.

In the main, the policy of the Japanese in California—at present, at least—is conquest by colonization. Necessarily in a vast country such as ours development has been slow, and the significance of the policy did not obtrude itself at once, but it has progressed, now, to such an extent as to be not only distinctly but alarmingly discernable—except to those who are “color blind” or do not care to see.

The Japanese in California now number, in my judgment, between 100,000 and 150,000. One of the things their leaders seem determined to keep in the background is the exact total of their population in this State. Prior to the effective activity of the Japanese, recently, in acquiring land here, they held title to between 75,000 and 100,000 acres in California. This acreage may have been doubled in the past few months because of the alarm of the Japanese over the agitation against them and their frantic desire to possess themselves of every foot of land possible before being finally and effectively restrained. It is estimated that they have under lease between 200,000 and 300,000 acres of land. On March 1st the capitalization of California corporations owned outright or controlled by Japanese, as shown by the records of the State Board of Equalization at Sacramento, was \$72,357,998, and careful estimates indicate that fully one-half of this vast sum is in land holdings. Since that date approximately 100 Japanese companies have filed articles of incorporation, all or nearly all of which propose to deal in land or produce.

That the Japanese have violated treaty provisions and agreements between their government and ours in order to enlarge their population and power in this State and along the Coast, is beyond question. How many have entered surreptitiously along the borders will never be known. Picture brides have been brought here not only to increase the number of Japanese through the bearing of children, but also to be used as laborers in the fields, a clear violation of the “gentlemen’s agreement.” The action of the government of Japan, recently, in putting a stop to the coming of picture brides was merely a sop in the hope that it would

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check anti-Japanese agitation in California and along the Pacific Coast. So, too, was the action of that government in liberalizing its land-owning and land-leasing laws.

Not Retaliation, But Preservation.

America is not concerned as to these matters. "It is more than willing that Japan should control its own internal affairs. But at the same time it demands the absolute right to manage its own concerns. The opposition to Japanese immigration, land owning, land leasing and other lines of industry which they take up in this country, is not based at all upon any of the laws or practices of the Empire of Japan, is not based at all upon the spirit of retaliation, but is based solely upon the purpose of the people of this country to keep it a white man's country. The two races can never mingle. Socially, politically and industrially the standards of the Japanese differ from the standards of the Americans. The two can never be made to amalgamate. Continuance of present conditions means future trouble of the most serious sort. The wise thing is to stop it now.

Not only have the Japanese evaded treaty provisions and agreements, but once here they have consistently violated our land-owning and land-leasing laws. Unfortunately, the Federal Constitution provides that children born here are American citizens; and so with the manipulation of Japanese minors it has been made easy for alien Japanese to acquire control and possession of thousands and thousands of acres of fertile California land. In the counties of Fresno and Tulare, recently, instances of gross manipulation along this line were brought to the attention of the courts and openly denounced. Through corporations making use, frequently, of white men as dummy directors, the Japanese also have acquired, illegally, the ownership of acres and acres of the best land in the State of California.

And when they acquire these lands they people them in colonies, gradually forcing out the white residents and white owners. They have no trouble in financing their operations, backed as they are, to a large extent, by banks of their own in this State, behind which are the banks and the government of Japan. The whole procedure is along the lines of a policy long ago established in Japan, to acquire possession of the Western coast of America through peaceful penetration, if possible, and other means later, if need be and practicable.

When the present population of the Japanese in California is considered, with fully 25,000 native sons and daughters, the rabbit-like fecundity of the race, their possession and control of thousands and thousands of acres of land, their dual citizenship and established loyalty to the government of Japan, the seriousness of the issue cannot be questioned. To sit idly by and permit this condition to continue and to grow,

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would be to invite disaster. The future as we look upon it today is menacing indeed.

I have not gone into detail here as to Japanese birth statistics in California or even quoted the very careful and disquieting tabulations prepared by Mr. V. S. McClatchy, publisher of the Sacramento "Bee," along national lines, because much publicity recently has been given them in the press. But such data should be studied and borne in mind.

Japanese Propaganda.

The Japanese Association of America and its co-partner, the California Farmers' Co-operative Association, with individuals here and there who mainly are actuated by personal and selfish motives in defending the Japanese, are spreading propaganda from one end of California to the other and throughout the United States, aimed to thwart the purpose of those who would preserve California, this Coast and the Nation as a white man's country.

Unsubstantiated figures as to population, immigration and departures are given; likewise, as to acreage owned and leased and the comparative value of crops produced and sold by the Japanese. But not a word is said as to the capitalization of Japanese corporations in California, for the record as to this is too plain to admit of evasion or manipulation. Moreover, most of the figures given by these proponents of the Japanese are not later than 1918. Recent acquisitions of land are not shown in these figures. And the forthcoming Federal census should demonstrate the fallacy of the population figures as presented. Recently, in San Francisco, United States officials in charge of the census work there openly protested at evasion by the Japanese and the public and the police were called upon to force these people to make proper census returns.

The propaganda issued by the Japanese and their white friends lauds their industry. It calls them "pioneers and upbuilders" of the State of California. No one has ever questioned the industry of the Japanese, though the conditions under which they are willing to work are obnoxious to white men. We do not want them. Nor do we need them here to develop or upbuild this commonwealth. This is a white man's State and will be built up by white men upon an enduring basis.

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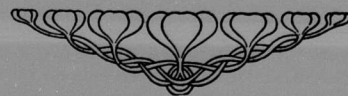
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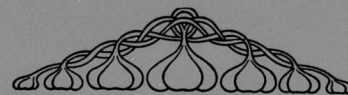
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No other kind of help is required. No temporary development due to Asiatic labor would offset the future harm that would follow this contamination.

For all the reasons here set forth the people of California have demanded an extra session of the Legislature, first, that the State may be protected within certain limits, clearly defined, practicable and constitutional; and, second, because of the effect of such legislation in the East, where the importance of the issue, not only to California but to the Nation, is not yet understood. Hence the need of a campaign of education. The people of California appreciate that ultimately the final solution must come through Congress, through national legislation, because the problems involved are largely international. But they also understand fully that there is little hope of attaining this until sentiment has been created throughout the Nation and Congress thus induced to act.

Put Teeth in Our Laws.

We need further legislation in California at this time to put a stop to land leasing by Japanese and the fraudulent acquisition of land by them through the manipulation of their minor children, and through bogus corporations. These and certain other things can be done, and done legally and constitutionally, at the present time. They would mean a great deal now, for the protection of California, and a great deal eventually for the protection of the Nation.

It may be of interest to note here, incidentally, in connection with the agitation for an extra session of the Legislature, that the "Nichi Bei"—the Japanese-American News, the leading Japanese newspaper of San Francisco—recently asserted that the Japanese proposed to raise a fund of \$100,000 with which to "conduct negotiations" with the Legislature should it be called into extra session to consider Japanese affairs, and that of this sum one-half is to be secured in the "old country," conditioned on a like sum from Japanese residents in America. Parenthetically, not only are Japanese acquiring our lands, but also certain of our bad habits.

Hundreds of organizations, fraternal, business, political and social, have petitioned and demanded that the Governor call an extra session of the Legislature. In many communities the organizations or the people



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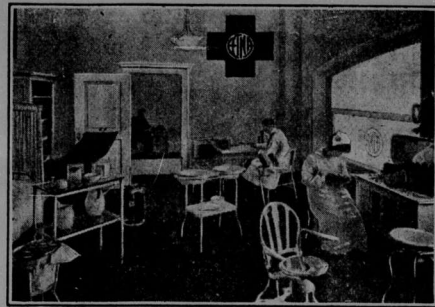


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themselves have gone on record against further leases or sales to Japanese, and have called upon real estate men and land owners not to countenance transactions of this kind as being against public policy and unpatriotic. There is no doubt as to the attitude of the people of California. The opponents constitute a pitiful minority. But as long as the Governor refuses to call the session demanded they hold the upper hand. Assuming that the Governor will not call an extra session, the California Oriental Exclusion League is now preparing to circulate petitions under the initiative law of the State. Unfortunately this will mean a long delay and will afford the Japanese just that much more opportunity to dispossess the white people of California. This is the great sin of the Governor in failing to meet the demands of the people of his State.

The Labor Aspect.

It is not proposed to deport the Japanese now here. Although it is recognized that many of them have entered California illegally, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove this fact in the majority of cases. And so the entire effort is to stop immigration, not to disturb conditions as they now exist. For this reason the labor situation in California would remain as at present or grow somewhat better. But even otherwise, it is asked, what is the better thing to do—hasten the temporary development of California through the employment of Asiatics—an unsound policy economically in the long run—or temporarily check development, if need be, in order that the future may be built up solidly and enduringly? We are dealing with a problem which in its entire scope looks far ahead of the present day or the present fortunes of those who demand cheap labor. The issue is temporary prosperity and future demoralization, or permanent prosperity based upon the social, economic and political standards of the white man.

In the matter of labor, the white people of the county of Fresno found last year, notwithstanding the general shortage and an enormous crop, that such conditions could be met and overcome. I quote as follows from an editorial in the Fresno "Republican":

"It has been demonstrated that not only can white labor be had, but good white labor—the sort that farmers prefer to Orientals. Formerly when we got the best of Orientals and the

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worst of the whites nobody wanted white men. They were unreliable, dishonest and drunken. And we thought it was their fault! Now we have found out that better men can be had, or the same men will prove better, if we treat them decently. We have made the work fit for a white man to do, and white men do it. We have so organized the distribution of workers that they do not have to become tramps between jobs; we have provided them with decent conditions of work and of living, and we have paid them well. And everybody likes them."

Fresno has pointed the way. It must be conceded, of course, that California even now has a labor problem and that the supply of labor at the present probably would not make possible a State-wide solution under the Fresno plan; but that plan will help tremendously if taken up generally, and in time, through attracting more white labor to California, meet requirements to a very satisfactory degree.

Only Stringent Laws Will Help.

It has been suggested, pending legislation, or indeed, if necessary, before new legislation be drafted, that the United States send to Japan, more or less frequently, commissions to discuss conditions and bring about a better understanding and a better feeling between the two nations. It is pointed out that Japan has sent a number of commissions here to make a study of American conditions and to tell of Japan. Insofar as facts can be ascertained, the Japanese commissions so far sent to this country have come to do propaganda work for the Japanese government, not with a desire to better the understanding between the two nations, but to blind our eyes and make conquest by colonization easier of accomplishment. As California sees it, the real need is not to send delegations to Japan, but to our own Middle and Eastern States. That is where light is needed. Recently the dispatches called attention to the fact that the Japanese government desired a conference at Tokio to consider Japanese-American matters. We should be well on our guard as to the character of the American delegates to such a conference. The Japanese government is cunning beyond our Western comprehension.

Not commissions, nor conferences, not prating about the brotherhood

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of man, but stringent legislation is the need of the hour and the day, and the only real hope for future national security.

It is the duty of every resident of California to do his or her part in helping to educate the people of the other States who do not yet appreciate the menace of the Japanese invasion. It is the duty of the Governor of California to call a special session of the Legislature that he and the Legislature may do their part in this tremendous task. We cannot hope for relief through Congress until we have made the people of the East and members of Congress realize just what the situation is.

And what we ask of Congress is as follows: First, cancellation of the "gentlemen's agreement"; second, exclusion of picture brides by action of our government, not trusting to the pronouncements of the government of Japan; third, absolute exclusion of Japanese, with other Asiatics, as immigrants; fourth, confirmation and legalization of the principle that Asiatics shall be forever barred from American citizenship; fifth, amendment of Section 1 of Article XIV of the Federal Constitution, providing that no child born in the United States of foreign parents shall be eligible to American citizenship unless both parents are eligible to such citizenship.

LONG POUNDING COUNTS.

Continuous pounding against wrong brings results, as is shown by an editorial statement in the Sun and New York Herald that "we agree with the Teachers' Union in one thing, namely, that members of the teaching and supervisory forces in the public schools should not be dismissed without full, open exposition of the reasons for dropping them." The trade union movement is supporting the organized teachers in this demand. The opponents of trade union teachers continue to discuss the "evils" of teachers' unionization, while they slowly agree that the wrongs which forced the teachers to unionize must be removed.

"With the growth of tipping employers have taken advantage of it and permit the public to pay much of the wage bill. It is a false situation and one which can be cured by the education of the public into the right attitude."—Aberdeen (S. D.) American.

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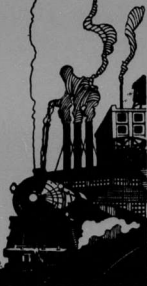
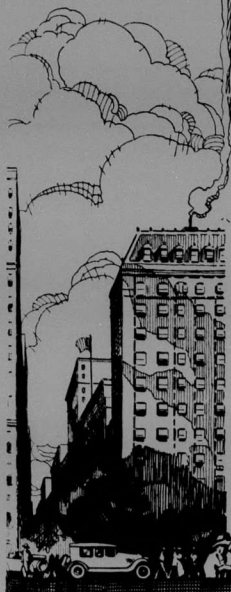
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French Labor's Reconstruction Plan

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

France also has its program of social reconstruction. This plan has been put forward not by the government nor by the Socialists, who oppose it as much as they dare, but by the labor unions.

The Confederation Generale du Travail, known all over the world as the C. G. T., has launched the plan—but it is not a narrow class project. Before putting forth its new proposals, the C. G. T. secured the co-operation of great organizations representing the salaried classes, the government officials and the consumers of France.

The French project is perhaps the first reconstruction plan the world has seen which rests upon economic and not upon political democracy. It aims frankly to bring about by gradual and by peaceful means the substitution of industrial democracy in place of the present political state and the control of that state by private or capitalistic interests.

The new project consists not in a program of reforms, but in a new method of evolving such a program.

Let the C. G. T. speak for itself:

"The C. G. T., representing organized labor, examined the general problems that confronted the country immediately after the armistice and pointed out in a general way the solution of those problems, through a National Economic Council.

"To its proposition to create this National Economic Council with the duty confronting these difficult and essential problems the government replied only by offering to enact a grotesque caricature of the project. The General Confederation of Labor then decided itself to constitute an Economic Council of Labor.

"The C. G. T. intends to have recourse to the new form of organization and to introduce—by new methods—a *changed direction* into the entire economic activity of the country."

This language may appear radical or even revolutionary. But we must remember first, that all great reforms in France—especially if they are presented to the working classes—are put forth in revolutionary phrases—phrases which are often entirely constructive and practical in application—however idealistic and even violent they may be in the manner of their formulation.

Second, it must be remembered that since the war even conservative statesmen like Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson have acknowledged that radical changes are called for and have employed revolutionary language in this connection. Mr. Wilson also has called for a "changed direction" in organization of industry and has advocated the inauguration of "genuine industrial democracy." The French G. C. T. and other organizations associated with it believe they have proposed a plan for "genuine industrial democracy" of a more practical character than anything offered by Mr. Wilson—who relies upon a new Industrial Commission from which labor is excluded.

The C. G. T. explains its new project as follows:

"In order to assure to the organism which it has created the necessary maximum of competency and authority, the C. G. T. has appealed to the following organizations of consumers and technicians, all of which have agreed to give it their undivided support:

"National Federation of Co-Operatives,

"National Federation of Government Employees and Functionaries,

"The Union of Technicians of Industry, Commerce and Agriculture.



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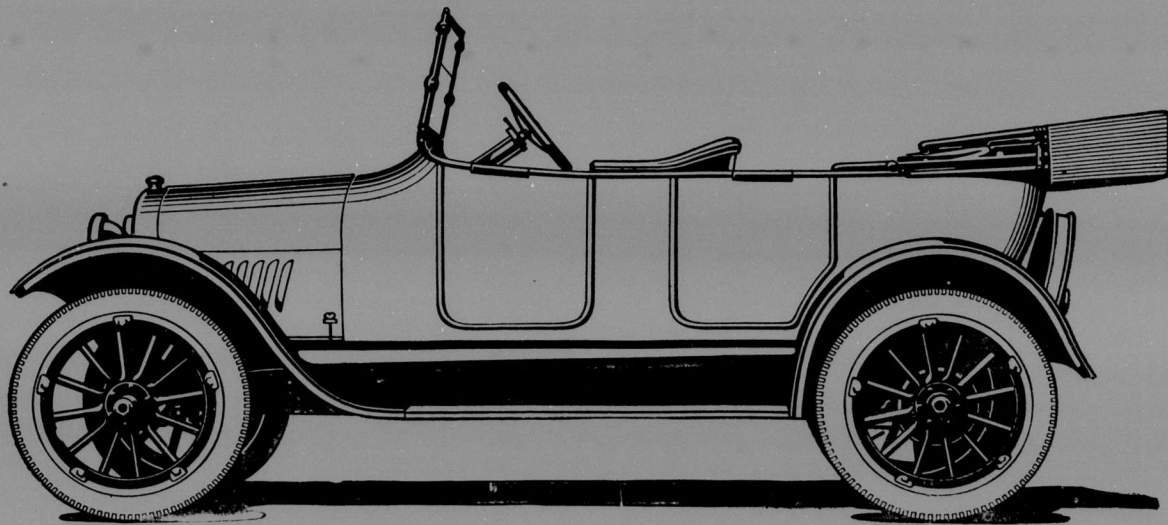


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"The Economic Council of Labor thus constituted is placed under the protection of the C. G. T. The end pursued is to contribute to economic reconstruction by means of practical principles aimed solely at the *common good* and giving to labor a just share in the management and control of production and distribution.

"Such work can not be the result of fragmentary studies and discontinuous efforts." Hence the establishment of this permanent council.

The "Common Good" vs. the "Class Struggle."

Most remarkable in this new plan is the appeal to "the common good" and not to the "class struggle." French labor here repudiates not only the Bolshevism which now completely dominates the French Socialist party but also the whole Marxist "class struggle" dogma, which underlies the entire political Socialist movement of continental Europe and America. Undoubtedly the C. G. T. would still claim that it adheres to the "class struggle," but its new interpretation converts that doctrine into industrial democracy.

The C. G. T. then proceeds to throw over a second reactionary dogma of orthodox Marxism—the proposition that the problem of production is now solved and that only the problem of a more equal distribution remains.

On the contrary, the French labor unions base their new project primarily on the proposition that the problem of production is not solved and that the present governmental and capitalistic methods can not solve it. Therefore the new project.

Let us again give the floor to the C. G. T.:

"The Salvation of industry demands organization for *increased production*. This organization for increased production can only be realized by appealing for the help of (1) those who are participating in production itself, workingmen and the technical and managerial staff of (2) those who have, or rather should have, as their professional task the co-ordination of various activities—the government functionaries and employees and (3) finally, of those who represent the interests of the consumers—the co-operators.



W. J. HYNES
Public Administrator

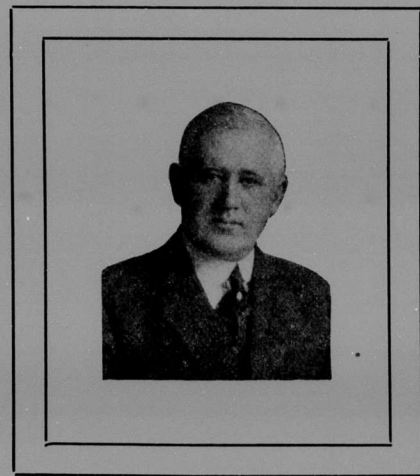
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Judge Matthew Brady
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"Increased production is possible only under two conditions:

"First, it must be organized in such a way that the natural resources, the capacities of the people, the mechanical equipment of industry and the instrumentalities of exchange shall be exploited to the full, and that everybody shall participate in the labor which produces the objects necessary to the life of the individual and of society.

"Second, it is necessary that the producers—whose interests have been hitherto denied or not fully recognized—should have the certainty that their labor is for the benefit of all society and not for the benefit of private interests."

Industrialized Nationalization.

The C. G. T. does not wish to be understood as advocating mere government ownership—which might be government ownership on the Prussian or Japanese model:

"In adopting the principle of *industrialized nationalization* the Economic Council of Labor does not by any means intend to perpetuate or to strengthen the present tendency towards *governmentalism*—which has done nothing to justify the hopes that have been placed upon it.

The nationalization which the labor movement demands consists in putting into the hands of the combined producers and consumers the means of production and exchange of which they have been dispossessed to the profit of a few."

What are the prospects that the plan of French Labor will receive a fair hearing and perhaps a fair trial?

These prospects are excellent because of the fact that France is in a more difficult economic position than any other country of Western Europe—and also because of the fact that the government has offered no plan whatever for dealing effectively with the situation.

The C. G. T. believes that France is headed towards bankruptcy and that the government has devised no method to save the country.

"A year after the end of hostilities there has been no improvement in the economic situation of the country. The continued rise in the cost of living is in itself a sufficient barometer of the disorder throughout the industry of any country. No measure has been proposed which

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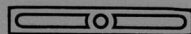
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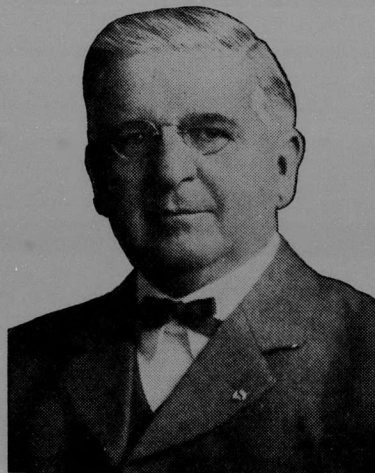
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might even be conceived as *promising* to put an end to this disorder and to face the terrible financial burdens of France; the only plan devised by the government is the endless issue of banknotes. No general plan for industrial reconstruction has been devised and there has been no serious effort to put an end to speculation and to tax the scandalous profiteering that continues in France (as in other countries.)"

French labor is aware that its project, though constructive and democratic, is also revolutionary:

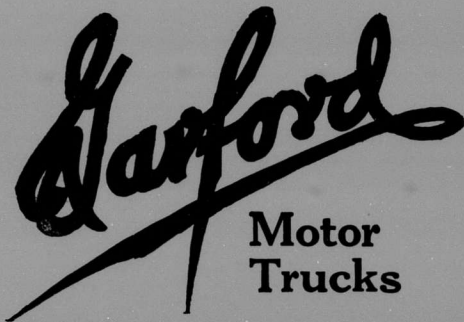
"The organizations of producers and consumers which compose the new council, have weighed the immensity of the task to be accomplished, conscious as they are of the existence of a new society in the process of being born—the establishment of which no obstacle can prevent. The new order must arise out of the disorder of the regime that is passing away; capitalism has now fulfilled its mission, the work now to be accomplished passes its powers."

"To disarm the State, while making it *evolve* towards the time when it will no longer be anything more than the representative of the collective organizations of production and distribution, to take away from it the forces of coercion which it now possesses, to take away from the hands of Capital the direction of industry, and to give to Labor the rights to which it aspires and the responsibilities which it is capable of assuming, such is the work to be accomplished."

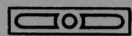
Here we come again to the revolutionary phrases with which every great democratic and constructive reform is proposed in France. But these phrases need not detain us. The real question is whether the proposed change is in the direction of Bolshevism or in the direction of industrial democracy?

The *ultimate* aim of the C. G. T. plan for social reconstruction may be revolutionary. The *method* proposed is evolutionary. The government is not to be overthrown; on the contrary, it is to be "made to evolve towards that time when" it will meet the requirements of industrial democracy.

The new project of the C. G. T. is to be compared not with the destructive plans of the Soviets but with the constructive plans of British labor unions.



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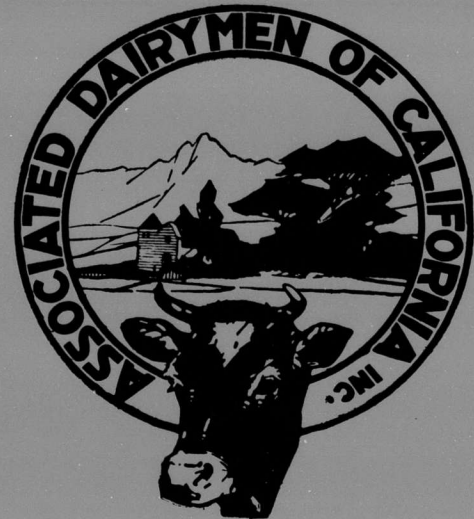
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STRIKE AGAINST TAXES.

A congress of retail beverage dealers was held in Paris recently. It wound up with a mass meeting at the Trocadero Palace, where the main topic of the speeches became the new fiscal legislation of France. "We will not be harassed any longer," declared Mr. Grizard, its presiding officer. "We are prepared to perform our legitimate fiscal duties; but if nobody will listen to us, if we are not permitted to pursue our business in peace, and conduct our affairs sensibly, we shall refuse to pay our taxes." And Mr. Maus, in speaking of an interview he had with the Minister of Finance, added: "I told him that the whole body of business men was willing to accept a uniform tax on all commercial transactions, a system of taxation that would produce all the billions needed by the country, without any espionage and inquisitions, and that it would bring the most revenue without the possibility of fraud. I placed before the taxing commission the protests of the commercial interests against the luxury tax. It is true that the finance committee has given the tax a new name and now calls it the 10 per cent tax on business, but he can not stop this agitation by any such device."

The meeting adopted a resolution demanding the repeal of taxation injurious to the freedom of commerce, and protesting against the introduction of tax questions into commercial affairs, which, if not remedied, will lead to a strike against taxes.

The National Federation of Merchants and Mobilized Industries, No. 10 Rue de Rome, Paris, held a convention at which 147 sections or affiliated bodies from Paris and the provinces were represented. The speakers examined one by one the various demands of their organization, and finally formulated them all in a program as follows:

"The Federation of Merchants and Mobilized Industries instructs its executive council to act with utmost energy to impress upon the public authorities these our demands:

"1. That the bill for the speedy settlement of commercial and civil debts held up for payment through the moratorium privilege during the war, be enacted into law at once.

"2. To secure satisfaction due the members of our organization on account of war claims, illegal charges, the prolonging of leases, and payment of internal revenue taxes.

"3. To demand explicit revision of war contracts and that all war claims be paid by the profiteers."

"4. To remind the deputies and senators of their pre-election pledges made to this organization and their duty to keep them.

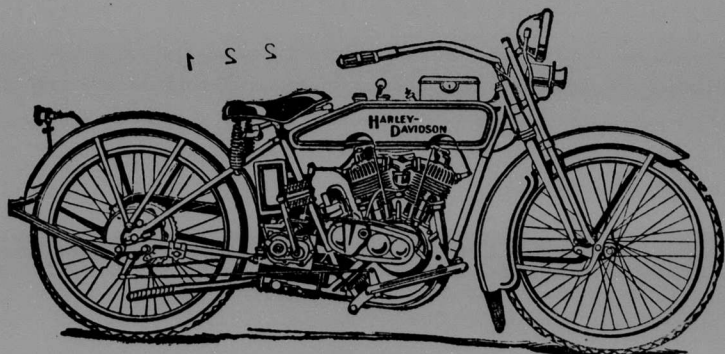
"5. To inform those members of parliament who were not pledged that if they do not adhere to our program they will be treated as enemies.

"6. To impress upon the judiciary of the commercial, criminal and civil courts, that they are there to respect and enforce and not to interpret as they please the laws and regulations on the statute books.

"7. The sections of this Federation agree unreservedly, in case complete and proper satisfaction to these demands be not forthcoming before the 31st day of May, that we shall proceed from words to acts and as a first measure resort to a strike against the tax.

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"8. The Federation of Merchants and Mobilized Industries declares its desire that all taxes that burden at this time commerce and industry by vexatious and inquisitory regulations and which besides are difficult if not impossible to enforce, or which bring only illusory revenues, be repealed and instead that there be levied a single tax upon the total amount of business done, and that all possible pressure be brought upon the government and the two houses of Parliament to obtain proper and complete satisfaction."

Commenting upon above action, a writer in L'Information Ouvriere et Sociale, Mr. Remy Boure, writes as follows:

"This new form of direct action is spreading with great and dangerous rapidity; it is characteristic of critical times. When the citizens agree to refuse paying taxes the state will find itself in a desperate situation.

"Hitherto only workingmen have adopted such procedure. But they limited their opposition to one form of taxation only, the income tax on wages, often through ignorance and indifference but with the sometime distinct and sometime obscure idea that by incommoding the state they were hitting the war profiteers. The workingmen feel that in the present condition of society when the necessity for labor and production is preached everywhere, it is really labor that is taxed and supports the entire economic structure, while the merchants and the speculators escape taxation. Their object in refusing to pay the tax is distinct, greater justice in the distribution of wealth. And they do not expect to shake down the pillars of society in the realization of their dream.

"But the merchants on the other hand—and the retail merchants in wet goods are the least worthy of their class—they also seek to employ the same new weapon—the strike against taxes. Legal procedure does not suffice them. Yet with a remarkably faulty logic, they at the same time pronounce their opposition to revolutionary propaganda and Bolshevism. Yes, these retail beverage merchants belong still to the 'Allied Economic Interests;' they contributed in large amounts and numerous before the elections of the 16th of November to fight 'the man with a knife in his teeth.' They were the supporters of the national interests and reckoned themselves among the pillars of the nation.

"In now menacing the state with a strike against taxes, what are they doing but sawing off the branch on which they are sitting?

"How can they now in good faith reproach the workingman of going outside the law?

"In adopting the Trocadero resolutions these wet goods merchants have signified their entry into the revolutionary army. That is a point that has not been emphasized in the daily press. Not a voice has been raised against this unsocial act and violation of social discipline, and even Mr. Henry Cheron in his enumeration of Bolshevik propaganda omitted to mention this notable event."

"And thou shalt take no gift; for the gift blindeth the wise and perverteth the words of the righteous."—Exodus 23:8.

Do not rich men oppress you and draw you before the Judgment seats?—James 2, 6.

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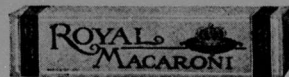
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Harding's Record

Senator Warren G. Harding, nominated by the Republican party to make the race for President of the United States, while serving in the United States Senate, during the 64th, 65th and 66th Congress made the following record which is of vital interest to the wage workers:

Sixty-fourth Congress—Attitude Toward Labor.

June 30, 1919—Motion to strike out Tavenner amendment prohibiting vicious stop-watch and bonus systems from fortifications bill—Unfavorable.

June 25, 1919—Motion to strike out Tavenner amendment prohibiting vicious stop-watch and bonus systems from military bill—Unfavorable.

July 26, 1919—Gallinger's amendment to nullify Tavenner amendment prohibiting vicious stop-watch and bonus systems—Unfavorable.

August 8, 1916—Federal child-labor bill—Not voting.

December 14, 1916—Passage immigration restriction bill—Favorable.

January 8, 1916—Conference report immigration restriction bill—Not voting.

February 5, 1917—Immigration restriction bill over president's veto—Favorable.

Sixty-fifth Congress.

September 25, 1917—Appropriation for employment bureau, department of labor—Unfavorable.

October 4, 1917—War Risk insurance—soldiers and sailors—Favorable.

February 6, 1918—Civil rights bill—soldiers and sailors—Favorable.

March 15, 1918—Borland amendment increasing hours of government employees—Unfavorable.

March 21, 1918—Borland amendment increasing hours of government employees—motion to strike out—Not voting.

May 22, 1918—Motion to strike out Tavenner amendment prohibit-

ing vicious stop-watch and bonus systems from naval appropriations bill—Unfavorable.

August 27, 1918—Motion to strike out "work or fight" amendment to draft bill—Not voting.

December 5, 1918—Retirement bill—objectionable substitute by Pomerene—Unfavorable.

December 18, 1918—Child labor—revenue bill to tax products in interstate commerce—Not voting.

Sixty-sixth Congress.

June 4, 1919—Woman suffrage—Favorable.

October 21, 1919—Amendment to strike out anti-trust clause favoring labor in first deficiency bill—Not voting.

November 5, 1919—Motion to strike labor charter from league of nations—Unfavorable.

December 18, 1919—Motion to strike clause making strikes unlawful from Cummins railroad bill—Not voting.

December 19, 1919—Motion to strike clause making strikes unlawful from Cummins railroad bill—Not voting.

December 20, 1919—Motion to extend federal control of railroads for two years—Unfavorable.

December 20, 1919—Final passage of Cummins railroad bill, making strikes unlawful—Unfavorable.

January 26, 1920—Americanization bill—education of illiterates—Not voting.

February 23, 1920—Cummins-Esch railroad bill—acceptance of conference report containing the obnoxious anti-labor and other objectionable provisions—Paired unfavorably.

April 1, 1920—Motion by Senator Phelan to increase the appropriation for the bureau of conciliation, department of labor—Favorable.

April 3, 1920—Retirement bill—Myers' amendment prohibiting affiliation of federal employees with organized labor—Favorable.

Favorable, 7; unfavorable, 10; not voting, 9; paired, unfavorably, 1.

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A SOLID FRONT

By DANIEL J. TOBIN, President Brotherhood of Teamsters

We notice from the newspapers that the Socialist party has decided to run a national ticket in the general election. This again proves the loyalty of the Socialists in supporting the candidates of labor. Of course, we will be answered by the Socialists as follows: Why does not labor support the Socialists? It would be pretty hard to expect a real trade unionist, a full-blooded American, to support men like Victor Berger, Bill Haywood or Eugene Debs. There are several brands of Socialism in the world. The brand that we in this country have been cursed with is the German brand, or the Russian Jewish brand. The German Socialists failed utterly to carry out the principles of their party in the late war in Germany. The members of the German Socialist party supported the war and supported the Kaiser all through the war. They sanctioned the appropriation of moneys for the purposes of slaughtering their fellow men in all countries. The only real Socialist who fought against the war and the German government was Liebknecht, and we find that after the overthrow of the Kaiser, and when the so-called Socialists became somewhat in control of the German government, that they assassinated Liebknecht—the man who stood out against the threats of the Kaiser and the military forces of the country and actually fought for the doctrines of Socialism. But he was assassinated by the men of his own party, and they were never brought to trial by the new German government. Therefore, we can not expect the working men and women of the country, the real full-blooded Americans, whose brothers and sons offered up their lives for the freedom of the world, to indorse this brand of Socialism. Neither are we going to embrace the brand of Socialism advocated by the revolutionary Russian type of Socialist. We want no revolution in this country. We want no bloody war between the classes of our country. We had a revolution for freedom. We had a form of revolution in the Civil War, where brothers fought brothers, but it was for the

emancipation of the black man. We do not want any more revolutions until it becomes necessary for us to fight again for the preservation of the Union. Therefore, we can not embrace the Russian type of Socialism, and the two types mentioned above are the kinds that compose the Socialism that we have been cursed with in our country. That is the reason why, perhaps, that the Socialist party has never been successful in getting anywhere in this country. But that party has been somewhat successful in many instances in defeating labor's candidates, because in several districts the labor candidates, or the men indorsed by labor, who were pledged to be friendly towards labor, if elected to office, those men have very often been defeated by a few votes, just because the Socialists took enough of workingmen's votes away from labor's friend to defeat him, and this is what they purpose to do in the next election. You understand the Socialist party is much weaker now than it was before or at the last election. This is due to the fact that during the war the party was torn to pieces by the pro-German or un-American individuals who were recognized leaders or spokesmen in the Socialist party, including Mr. Debs. We have also had spring up amongst us here and there within the last year, the Labor party. It is distinctly against the constitution of the American Federation of Labor for any central body or state branch to engage in the formation of a Labor party, even though the Executive Council last year gave its partial consent to central bodies to form local Labor parties having to do with local municipal elections. But under no circumstances did the Executive Council consent or allow central bodies or state branches of the American Federation of Labor to engage in the establishment of state Labor parties or a national Labor party. The Executive Council could not give its consent because it would be a violation of the laws of the American Federation of Labor. Until the constitution of the American Federation of Labor is changed that organ-

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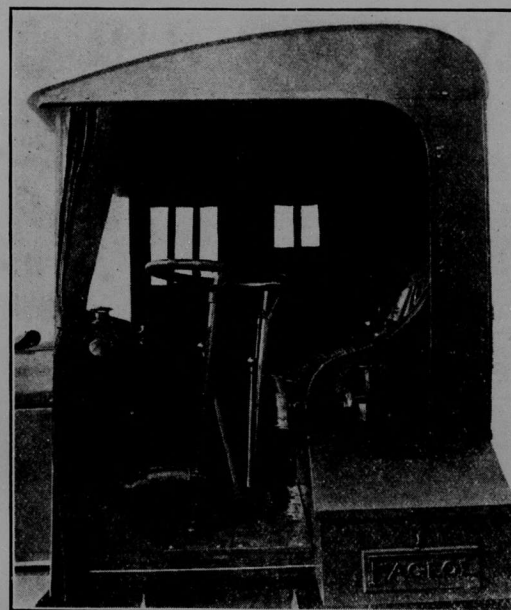
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ization can not enter into the formation of a state or national Labor party, and must assume a non-partisan position, and this the council has done by deciding to elect the friends and defeat the enemies of labor. Central bodies and state branches seeking or attempting to establish Labor parties in the several states are acting in violation of the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and local unions of international unions are not carrying out the laws of the American Federation of Labor by affiliating with state or national Labor parties, until such time as the convention of the American Federation of Labor has amended the constitution, thereby recognizing the right of state branches and central bodies to enter into the formation of state Labor parties or a national Labor party.

National and international unions of America are going to support the doctrines and the program of the American Federation of Labor. We need immediate relief in the legislatures of our several states and in our national legislature. We must elect men who are friendly to labor in the next election, as we need results. We can not afford to wait. We must, therefore, all of us, help to elect to office men who are pledged to the interest of labor, no matter to which party they may belong. If a sprinkling of working men and women of the country embrace the Socialist party and another sprinkling embrace the Labor party, and vote for its candidates, the only effect such actions will have will be to defeat some staunch friend of labor running for office, who may be carry-

ing a union card, but who may profess to be a member of the Democratic or Republican parties. This would be a serious injustice to the rank and file of those we represent. Officers of unions who advise their membership to vote against the political program of the American Federation of Labor are not pursuing the right course, and are jeopardizing the interests of the rank and file of the toilers throughout the nation. No matter what our personal feelings in the premises may be, it ill behooves any of us to pick flaws in this great movement of ours. It would be better for us to learn and advertise the good things that labor has done for the membership at large. We have been elected as officers to advise our members along lines which we believe will produce the best results, for unless we are men big enough to set aside petty jealousies and personal feelings, then we are not big enough to hold office.

The great principle involved at this time means the life of the labor organizations of the country, because the next election will decide whether or not labor will amount to anything at the polls, and unless labor utilizes every vote that it has and that it can influence, the results that we desire can not be obtained, and if labor is not successful, we may look for the next administration seriously considering legislation forbidding the existence of labor organizations in our country.

It is up to you, therefore, to do your share. Don't divide or split the Labor vote. Let us show a solid front.

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The High Cost of Living

By JOHN S. CHAMBERS, State Controller.

A young friend of mine, with his bump of caution well developed and a liking for figures, began, when he was married three years ago, to keep a painstaking account as to his household expenditures. I present the summary here because I think it typical of the average American family whose bread-winner is on a salary basis and whose inclination is to be economical at all times.

From 1916 to 1919 his "fixed charges" (using his own term), which include rent, telephone service, gas, light, fuel, etc., increased 107 per cent, but his food bill only advanced 37 per cent and his clothing 57 per cent. The explanation is simple. He cut down on quantity and quality both as to food and clothing—not a good thing at all in the matter of food, at least. He estimates that his increase as to either of these items on the basis of 1916 prices, quantity and quality, would run from 90 to 100 per cent.

Governmental Figures.

This is in line with statistical data gathered by governmental experts. The United States Department of Labor gives the advance in the cost of "articles of food combined" for the five years ending in March, 1919, at 80 per cent. The price of flour in the same period increased 106 per cent; bacon, 110 per cent and lard 114 per cent, other articles falling sufficiently under to bring the average down to 80 per cent. In eighteen shipbuilding towns, scattered along either coast, men's clothing advanced 110 and women's 111 per cent, from 1914 to 1918, both years inclusive. In a report recently issued by the Philadelphia Board of Trade, the assertion is made that "the advance in prices in this country since 1914 has been about 107 per cent, in Canada 115 per cent, in Great Britain 133 per cent and in France 235 per cent."

Figures are not needed to convince one that prices have gone skyward, but they are necessary to give a more intelligent idea of the situation

and particularly help in determining causes, especially in tracing the criminal train of the iniquitous hoarder and profiteer.

Loss, Misery and Death.

The financial burden due to the high cost of living is a tremendous one, but worse still is the misery, the ill health and the loss of life that have come upon the very poor who have suffered hunger and privation incredible. Those who have been guilty of criminal profiteering face a heavy reckoning because of the financial loss and distress they have wrought, but this is as nothing compared with their evil traffic in human health, life and souls. Hell itself will be ashamed of such men.

The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor asserts that "from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 American children are not getting enough to eat because their parents are unable to buy sufficient food." Their growth, physical and mental, is stunted; their health permanently undermined. The New York City Health Department states that of 2084 families recently investigated, 807, or 27 per cent, no longer eat meat, and in 388 families additional, meat has been almost eliminated. Eggs no longer are seen on the tables of 882 families of the group examined; and yet eggs are "one of the fundamental articles of diet in the care of tuberculosis." And tuberculosis is prevalent among the poor of our great cities. This report is typical of the conditions in our large municipalities—privation, starvation, illness, death:

But enough of figures. What, however, of the men, who, taking advantage of a disordered world, with the situation serious enough in itself, would make possible by piratical manipulation such a fearful condition of affairs as now exists, that they may add blood dollars to their already vast wealth? Or of those in smaller spheres who imitate these leaders, even though the human misery they cause is not so great, or the financial loss so heavy?



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The War's Responsibility.

Prior to 1914 there was a noticeable advance in the cost of living. There had been a gradual upward movement over a series of years. With the coming of the world war, however, this movement was accelerated tremendously, until now it has reached a point where it presents the gravest issue before the nation and before the civilized world today. Though the war is over, the cost of living is still going up. Peace has not been declared, and great uncertainty exists. Governments are still borrowing money. Indebtedness incurred during the war and the interest thereon must be paid. New obligations are being assumed to meet after-the-war demands and readjustment problems. The tax burden increases continually and does its part accordingly in advancing the cost of living.

War is waste. It means curtailment of production along economic lines and the actual destruction of created wealth. The greater the war the greater the dead-weight loss. Also, war means the inflation of values, credits and currency; in other words, the cheapening of the dollar, the lessening of its purchasing power. And so prices go up.

Criminal Business.

All of this we know. And we could face the situation in fairly good spirits if this ended it, although the return to something like normal conditions necessarily would be a slow process, even then. But there is more to it—a very great deal more.

A condition serious enough in itself is being made a real menace to the nation through the criminal and vicious manipulation of prices by profiteers, big and little; and the situation is made worse by reckless spending on the part of the people themselves. The spirit of the profiteer seems to have seized not only upon the large manufacturer, the operator and the packer, but also upon the middleman and the retailer. It is in the air. And it is having a psychological effect upon the people. "Frenzied buying" is the order of the day. Receiving as a whole more money than ever before, but unable, notwithstanding, to buy as much as formerly, or to save at all, desperation appears to have gripped the public. Thrift was never an American habit. It is less so now than ever.

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The People Robbed.

The high cost of living is really profitable in the long run only to the conscienceless big operator, the man who hoards or adopts similar practices for the purpose of profiteering. The sufferers are the people as a whole. High wages are more than offset by high prices. The public loses; but the seasonal worker and the average man of salary suffer in particular, while the very poor are in actual dire distress. The demand for increased wages has had, of course, considerable to do with the advance in prices. Without justification, nearly every increase in wages has been followed by a disproportionate increase in prices. One urges on the other. The spectacle is that of a cat chasing her tail. At best, so far as the workingman whose wage has been increased, is concerned, this has afforded temporary relief only. As one situation has been met, another even worse presents itself. The circle continues to expand and expand, growing more rigorous each time. And those who have not enjoyed an increase in wages suffer more and more and more.

More Control Needed.

The government let go of the reins of business control (which was never as comprehensive as it should have been), too soon following the conclusion of actual hostilities. Those in charge failed to realize the long period of great uncertainty that would follow while peace negotiations were under way, or the great and unusual difficulties confronting industrial readjustment. The natural order of things had been too rudely torn from its moorings to settle quietly back at once under the law of supply and demand. The opportunity for hoarding, manipulating and profiteering, of robbing the people, was thrown wide open. Every advantage has been taken of it, and today profiteering stands forward as the chief cause of the social and industrial unrest and misery prevailing throughout this country.

It is not difficult to point out the many causes of the present high cost of living. Nor is it so very difficult to suggest remedies that would meet in large part the situation as it exists in America today. But there are issues, deeper and hundreds of years old, marking the progress of the development of humankind, which are having very much to do with conditions of the present, and which must be met and fairly well solved before the world can return to a state of social and industrial peace, despite the other remedies that may be applied.

President Wilson's Remedies.

President Wilson sent a message to Congress discussing and proposing remedies to check the high cost of living. Much could be done under existing agencies of the law, he said, but much could not be done without further legislation. Among other things he asked that the food control act be extended to peace times, that heavy penalties be provided for profiteering, that food hoarded for the purpose of manipulating prices be forced into the market, that the cold storage business be regulated, that interstate commerce be supervised so as to insure competitive selling and the prevention of lawless profits, that certain forms of interstate business be licensed, that the people be informed through governmental agencies as to what constituted fair prices, that speculation in the necessities of life be stopped, and so forth and so on. What was necessary, he said, in short, was to re-establish business under the law of supply and demand.

The Attorney-General of California, in reply to a letter from the Governor asking his opinion as to what could be done in this State to force down the high cost of living, asserted, in brief, that little could be accomplished without further legislation, that the powers of the State Market Commission and the Railroad Commission were not such, as at present constituted, to give great relief, while the teeth had been taken from the Cartwright law through an amendment introduced, passed and approved during the 1919 Legislature.

Production and Markets.

Aside from the legal machinery necessary to drive the criminal profiteers under cover (into prison would be more fitting), increased and ever-increasing production, both agricultural and industrial, is necessary to restore conditions and help keep them at an even keel. Beyond this, there should be a governmental agency or agencies to create and keep alive an enlightened public opinion as to the waste and unnecessary expense in handling and distributing farm and other products, and

also to bring about the organization of marketing associations, standardization of agricultural production, adequate warehouse facilities, uniformity in methods by States as to regulation and investigation, and so forth and so on. Similar work should be done also along industrial lines, where practicable.

We need, also, to make the most of our opportunities along lines of development, co-operation and distribution, which would aid materially, for example, so far as California and the Western States are concerned, in building up our trade with the East and the Orient. And so, too, as to other regions. Governor Bamberger, of Utah, who was in Oakland recently, made a speech on that occasion full of common-sense, in which occurred this paragraph: "In Utah we have the iron and the coal. In California you have tidewater, the capital and the people. It is time that we began to work together for mutual advantages, greater advantages." In short, we need closer co-operation and mutual assistance among the States of the West. Why ship the iron of Utah and the copper of California to the East to be transformed into the finished product, paying freight both ways and wasting time, when the work could be done here? Such a procedure is sheer waste—a clear economic loss. It adds to the cost of living. Other regions are similarly affected. And so, waste grows and the burden becomes heavier.

The Great Issue of Labor.

But underneath the social unrest and the profiteering, the suggestions as to increasing production and improving systems of distribution and market and more stringent legislation, lies the human element of Labor—the greatest problem of all. There will be a considerable amelioration of present conditions through laws that will prevent criminal hoarding and probably punish profiteers. Piratical manipulating will be checked, perhaps nearly ended; but we are not going to have social, political and industrial peace until the most fundamental of all issues—that presented by Labor—has been met and solved as well as it is humanly possible to do.

Not long since, a gentleman, in seeking to present the manufacturer's side of the situation, made this statement: "If a man gets \$50 a month and can go out into the market and buy the things he needs for \$40, he has a chance to get ahead. But if he gets \$250 and prices are such that it takes \$300 to pay for the things which he and his family should have, he is in an impossible situation. On the one hand he is contented and happy with a low wage; on the other, he is in despair with a high wage. Therefore, our statement that the rate of wages is secondary; the question of real importance is the relation earnings bear to the cost of living.

Labor Not a Commodity.

There possibly was a time, not so very long gone by, perhaps, when the wage-earner would have been "contented and happy with a low wage" if he could buy those things which he needed and at the same time lay aside a little money. But in my judgment that time has passed, if it ever really existed. The war has made Labor realize as it never realized before, its importance and its power. It is no longer a question of what relation "wage earnings bear to the cost of living," but of what compensation as human beings and one of the greatest creators of wealth, the

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workers are justly entitled to. The viewpoint of Labor, as one of the leaders recently phrased it, is this: "Labor now passes from demands for wage increases to demands that the system of profits in industry be overhauled." The demand is for greater co-operation, a definite degree of partnership, direct participation in profits. Labor is not a commodity. Enough to live on and a little over will no longer suffice, and should never have sufficed. The laborer never again will be contented with the narrow life he led prior to the war. The real question is as to the social—the human—status of men who are performing such a large portion of the work of building up the industrial life of the country—the world. It is no longer a mere question of hours and rates of pay.

New Era of Co-operation.

The wise employer, in my judgment, is the man who not only recognizes the trend of events, but also is willing to travel with it within just and reasonable bounds; who does not seek to check the tide but to go with and help guide it. An employer may not like to do so. He may honestly think the old way the better way, losing sight of the equitable and humanitarian elements involved; but if he can read, he should have no difficulty in deciphering the handwriting on the wall.

The world war was not only a world revolution along political lines, but also along social and industrial lines. The old order is passing; a new order is here. It is a condition, not a theory; and while not yet worked out, not yet clear, it is certain to become more and more so, until the consummation comes.

Co-operation is the cornerstone of the new era, not only as to profits but as to work and responsibility. And it will mean, with the elimination of such things as criminal hoarding and profiteering, a far better regulated and contented industrial situation, a steadying of affairs, increased production, lower prices and yet fair profits on the money invested and the labor employed. And until this end is achieved, or perceptibly so, there will not be industrial peace, or stabilizing of business. Unrest, uncertainty and high prices will continue.

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FACTS ABOUT THE PHILIPPINES

The Filipino people number 10,350,640, of which 9,495,272 are Christians, and only nine per cent non-Christians.

They have been Christians for 300 years, and have a culture and refinement that will compare very favorably with that of other nations.

The University of Santo Tomas is 25 years older than Harvard.

English is taught exclusively in the Philippine public schools. Two million natives now speak English fluently, and there are 700,000 English-speaking children in the public schools. It is destined to be the national language.

Seventy per cent of the inhabitants of the Philippines over 10 years of age, according to a census just completed, are literate. This is a higher percentage of literacy than that of any South American country, higher than that of Spain, and higher than that of any of the new republics of Europe whose independence is being guaranteed by the Allies.

The Filipino people are unanimous in their desire for independence. Whenever they are called upon to deposit their ballots they have always ratified this aspiration. At every session before adjournment their representatives in the Legislature reiterate their faith in the principles of liberty and the independence of the Filipino people.

There are only 6684 Japanese in the Philippines. There are 124,000 Japanese in California alone, or 19 times as many as in the entire Philippine archipelago.

A special delegation of Filipinos, officially representing the Filipino people, attended the two national conventions, seeking an endorsement of the Filipino desire for independence in the platforms. Their arguments, briefly stated, are as follows:

First—That the American Declaration of Independence declares that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed;

Second—That the American Congress, in the Jones Law, solemnly promised the Filipinos independence upon the establishment of a stable government, and that their claim that the said stable government is now in existence in the Islands and has been officially confirmed by America's own representatives there; and

Third—That America went before the world in the recent war as the avowed champion of "self determination," American soldiers having been told it was one of the things they were fighting and dying for.

No matter what one's station in life may be, if he is habitually idle from choice, his character in every direction undergoes distintegration. If he be dependent on daily toil as a means of support, he is likely to become a criminal and prey on his fellow-men. If he be able to live without work, he will, in all probability, become morally feeble or dangerous. Idleness is ruinous to character. American character is derived from ancestors who were so busy, hand and brain, building a great nation that few of the corrupting and enfeebling vices of the old world idle classes found lodgment here.—Selected.

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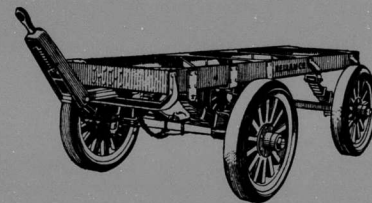
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Kindergarten Helps for Parents

By ELIZABETH HARRISON.

I was present one day in one of our large city training schools for teachers when a lecture was being delivered upon the value of agriculture as a national asset. The speaker suddenly asked all those members of the class of 600 students who had ever been on a farm to hold up their right hands. Not more than fifty were raised. He then asked all those who had never seen a farm to do the same and about two hundred hands were raised.

Is it any wonder that there has had to be such a persistent drive to awaken the right interest in our agricultural problem of producing enough food for the civilized world? And yet, every unspoiled child loves to dig in the ground, to plant seed; and when there is a wise sharing in his interest, he gladly waters and tends his little garden plot with a real pleasure. The recent success in our school gardens proves this. In 1918 the war gardeners of the country planted more than five million plots.

Those of us who have had much to do with young children know how eager and interested they are in watching the mysterious unfolding of the leaf buds in the early spring, and in talking about and waiting for the appearance of the seeds which they have planted in pots or window boxes. I have seen children as enthusiastic over the first bursting from the ground of the cotyledon of a bean which they have planted as if it were the first miracle of creation. If they are given an opportunity to continue their observations of peas, beans or other seeds on to the mature seed-bearing plants, so much the better. Appreciation of the mystery of nature and the control of her resources are as old as recorded time and probably many thousand years older. On the walls of the Egyptian temples are to be found harvest songs and in the tombs of Egypt are painted agricultural scenes, and yet we starve our children's desires in this direction and furnish them with flimsy toys which break

to pieces in a few days, when the personal possession of a plot of ground, or even of a flower pot with seeds would give them more pleasurable and lasting interest.

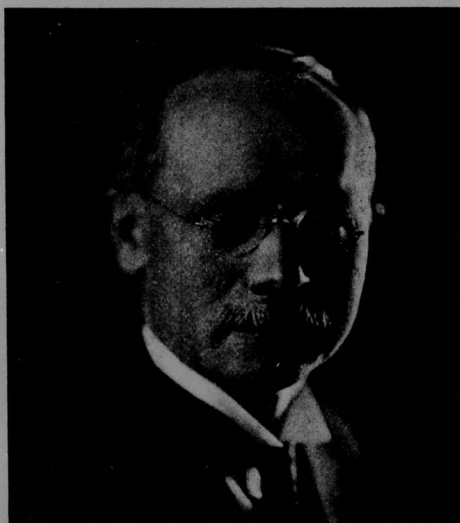
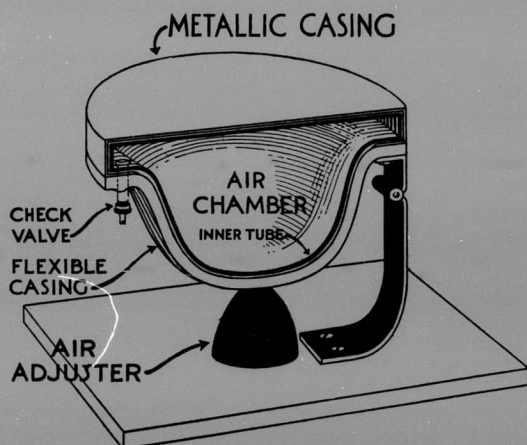
Why are we so stupid? It would take less time and less nervous force to share a child's interest in nature than it does to scold him for the destruction of toys or the abuse of furniture, both of which are the result of the unnatural curbing of his instinctive desire to express his ideas by changing, transforming and creating new forms.

I happen to have two little girl friends aged seven and nine who are children of a wealthy family and are in consequence overloaded with toys and other gifts. I was in their play-room one morning a few weeks after Christmas and noticed a flower pot in which still stood the remains of a Christmas poinsettia. The flower had disappeared and the stalk had withered, but the pot still stood in the sun-shiny window. On my return home I selected six nasturtium seeds and six morning glory seeds and carefully folded three of a kind in two bits of tissue paper. These I enclosed in a note, suggesting that they each plant them in one of their flower pots and see that the flower pot was placed in a sunny window and that the earth was kept moistened, and I added, "If you do this, by and by you will see something wonderful happen. I am not going to tell you what it is, but it is a very, very wonderful thing."

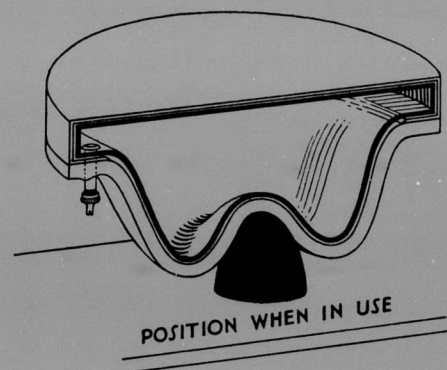
Several weeks later I had occasion to visit their home again. The two children ran to meet me with open arms, exclaiming: "We know now! We know now! They've grown up."

The mother told me that of all the gifts they had ever received, she had never known any that had given them so much pleasure, for although there had always been a garden on their grounds, it had never occurred to her that they would be in the least interested in the processes of gar-

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| \$500 in Fisk Rubber | 60,000.00 |
| \$500 in Goodrich Tire | 348,000.00 |
| \$500 in Duplex Rubber Tire | 250,000.00 |
| \$500 in Chevrolet, returned in 7 years | 140,000.00 |
| \$500 in Westinghouse Airbrake | 238,280.00 |
| \$500 in Stutz Motor Co., returned in 4 yrs | 22,500.00 |
| \$500 in Prestolite Co. | 500,000.00 |
| \$500 in Ford Motors | 1,250,000.00 |

dening. The children had carefully followed my directions as to the depth at which the seeds should be planted and the conditions under which they should be kept; and when the plants appeared above the ground she said they were as delighted as if it were a man's first discovery of the laws of nature's propagation. She added: "I realized then how deficient my training had been." When their grandmother, who lives in another suburb, invited them to spend the week-end with her, they only consented to go on the condition that one of the maids in their own home would take care of these plants while they were away.

This may seem like an extreme case of the isolation of children from nature, but I can assure you there are many children in our cities who know nothing whatever of the marvelous miracle of the phenomena of the springtime. There are many more who are taken every summer to some resort who pay no more attention to nature and her miracles than the greedy gathering of all the wild flowers they can hold, which they often throw away before they reach their hotel because of the withering of the imprisoned little blossoms.

Help reach all the parents of the country by cutting this out and passing it on to a friend.

International co-operation will also be necessary to deal with the big international trusts. The worst form of profiteering is the artificial raising of the costs of foods and raw materials. This can be done and will be done at the source of supply by the great international trusts and "rings." Only a combined front on the part of all the democracies can defeat this form of blackmail.—Lt.-Commander Kenworthy, in the Producer.

A co-operative society has no proprietor's pocket. At the worst it can only overcharge A on a particular purchase in order to return it to A, B and C as dividends on all purchases.—The Wheatsheaf.

The world might be improved a whole lot by merely following the advice we give others.

ORGANIZED LABOR'S PROGRAM.

By The REV. CHARLES STELZLE.

Like most other reform movements, organized labor seeks to abolish poverty. But it does not spend its time dreaming about a millennium in which all wrongs shall be righted, and ills cured. Its leaders are opportunists. They are alert to the measure which promises immediate though only partial relief.

They are convinced that the workingman is not receiving his just share of the common product. They are not prepared to state just what that share shall be, but they insist that we have not yet reached the point in our industrial life when all workingmen should be satisfied with their wages.

It is not fair to ask labor to specify any given amount with which it promises to be satisfied for all time. Money has a different value in different sections of the country and at different periods of time. Also, the development of our industrial life may be such as to completely alter the relative value of the services of both employer and employee. The introduction of labor saving machinery, for example, may revolutionize our chief industries.

The workingman feels that he is entitled to a fair share in the products of all improvements. He is not ready to commit himself to any contract which will prevent his securing future, and what will then be conceded perfectly legitimate, advances in his wages. The increase in wages and the shortening of hours of labor—the two principal points of contention between capital and labor—must be worked out upon an evolutionary basis, such changes being made from time to time as conditions warrant.

Carve the right kind of place in men's hearts and then you can safely leave to them the carving of the right kind of epitaph on your tombstone.—Forbes Magazine.

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Self-Government in the Philippines

By MAXIMO M. KALAW, Secretary of the Philippine Mission.

The Jones Law, or Philippine Autonomy Act, passed by the American Congress on August 29, 1916, marked a new era in the Philippines and established a new basis for Filipino-American relationship. Hitherto, the American Government in the Islands had rested on force and not on the consent of the Filipino people. The Treaty of Paris which transferred the Philippines to the United States was secured, not only without the consent of the Filipino people, but in defiance of their opposition. During the negotiation of that treaty, the Philippine Republic sent an official representative to Paris to express the views of the inhabitants of the Islands whose fate was being so momentarily decided. This official was not even given a hearing at the Peace Conference. After the signature of the treaty, he went to America, but the door of the Washington Government was equally closed to him. After the opening of hostilities between the American and Filipino forces, the Filipinos asked for a cessation, suggesting that conferences be held by representatives of both the American and Filipino peoples to deal with the future political relations between the two countries; but the plan was rejected. The American military commander replied that once the fight had started it had to continue to the bitter end. President McKinley, who was, unfortunately, misinformed on Philippine conditions, told the American nation that it was not a Filipino people that was opposing American rule, but only one of the *eighty tribes* inhabiting the Islands. The truth was that the Filipino people were almost solidly back of the Filipino commanders.

Unconditional surrender was asked of the Filipinos under arms. Sheer exhaustion was the only thing, however, which brought about such unconditional surrender and, later, complete peace.

With the laying down of their arms the Filipinos did not thereby cease protesting against American sovereignty. They carried on a persistent but peaceful campaign, petitioning the American people to recognize their right to independence and to define their ultimate political status; but no such definition of policy was forthcoming. The issue was never squarely met by the only authoritative body which could decide it, the American Congress. By virtue of the Organic Act of 1902 the people of the Philippines were allowed to send two Resident Commissioners to Washington. Everybody knows what the work of these representatives has been. They became the mouthpiece of Filipino aspirations for independence. They told the American people that the Filipinos did not want to remain under American sovereignty, that they desired to establish a government of their own which would be more satisfactory to them than any American government could be. They further told them that American retention of the Philippines was a continuous violation of the American principle that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

No other position could have been taken by the Filipino people compatible with their dignity as a people than that of carrying on an inde-

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pendence campaign and reasserting their rights as a nation. No more effective claim to the just consideration of the world could have been brought than their solemn protest against the continuation of American sovereignty in the Islands in spite of the benefits they were deriving from such an occupation. Had they been a mere conglomeration of savage tribes devoid of any national consciousness, how easily they could have accepted American rule, forgotten their forcible subjugation, and borne in mind only the material and social improvements brought about under American occupation. For the very reason that they are a people jealous of their national honor and rights, they failed to be satisfied with the benevolent enterprises of the American Government; they saw behind all exterior manifestations the baffling of their national aspiration, the usurpation of their right to any independent existence. Such a position undoubtedly has helped the American people to see the wrong in buying sovereignty and forcibly imposing it on an unwilling people.

ANTHROPOLOGY COURSE AT UNIVERSITY.

The evolution of the human race will be studied in the course on anthropology at the University of California during the fall semester, according to the syllabus issued by the Department of Anthropology today.

Subjects of study announced include evolution, instinct and custom, the problem of the missing link, the earliest men, the Neanderthal race, the Cro-Magnon and allied types, the dawn of human civilization, the first stone tools, heredity and exact science, race control, eugenics, nationality and language, the peoples of Europe, unity of the human species, and the race factor in history.

Dr. A. L. Kroeber, Professor of Anthropology and Curator of the Anthropological Museum, is head of the department.

Just because you have a good opinion of yourself is no reason why you should have a poor opinion of others.—Forbes Magazine.

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THE MAN HIMSELF.

A man of strong character is not afraid to find a responsibility devolving on himself. It may seem for a time most pleasant to dwell in a vale of no decision, where the mind need never be made up and nothing matters and today is only the sluggish current of time between tomorrow and yesterday. But none whose manhood in the least is precious to him cares to live that way. Mere inanition becomes to him as monotonous and demoralizing as a steady diet of bread and tea is to the physique. He must have some counter-irritant, some keen and bracing opposition, that stiffens his morale, brings into play the muscularity of character, trains powers that might be atrophied in long disuse.

Every situation has the human factor at the center of it as the hub is in the midst of the wheel. For the real driving power you will have to look behind man's machinery and find a brain no larger than a sponge or a cauliflower ruling the whole mighty edifice.

Rabindranath Tagore came to our country and waxed eloquent against the skyscrapers. He told us that we were not Titans that we should uprear an architecture of this immensity. He held that it oppressed, suppressed and ruled us. But the mystic of India was wrong. Whatever the hand of man calls into being the mind of man will regulate. A man is ever bigger than his business. Let him be one of an army at work with cars and cranes, let him be a tiny mite amid the toil of mills where thousands are, and still the toiler is greater than the fruits of labor. The thing that leaves the hand is soulless, but the soul went into the hand when it was made. The man himself is the greatest engine ever set in motion in this world, and the work of his hands shall never control his immortal spirit.—Philadelphia Public Ledger.

DRUGGIST OWNS PRESCRIPTION.

A decision which will affect the residents of Greater New York, and one which will settle disputes which have arisen for years between physicians, druggists and the bearers of prescriptions, was rendered recently by Magistrate Douras in Morrisania Court.

It is to the effect that persons presenting physicians' prescriptions at drug stores may not demand and receive their prescription orders after the pharmacist has compounded the medicine.

Persons who present prescriptions may make their own copies of the ingredients which go to make up their medicines or may request the pharmacist in drug stores to furnish them with copies, but for their own protection, as well as that of the prescribing physicians and the druggists who mix the medicine, the original orders must be left with the druggist.

All those who oppose intellectual truths merely stir up the fire; the cinders fly about and set fire to that which else they had not touched.—Goethe.

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THE REFORMER.

By the REV. CHARLES STELZLE.

From the man who takes himself too seriously, and from him who thinks that other people do—deliver us. The first must be a burden to himself, while the latter is a bore to others. You have met both types—the man with a “mission,” and he who imagines that the world is determined that he shall not carry it out. Both are usually narrow, bitter, censorious.

Your average reformer can see only one thing. Everything else to him is painfully distorted and inadequate. He can not believe that there is another view-point, and that each new vision presents a new outlook. He is an individualist of the rankest kind. It is absolutely impossible to get him “lined up” with the rest of us, who, in the nature of things, must have had other experiences which give us other ideas.

These ideas may not be as good as his, but they have come to us as a part of our mental equipment. And because they form so large a part of a real, vital human experience, they must, of necessity, be a factor in determining how all the needs of men are to be met. If all men were run through molds—made from the same pattern and of the same material—then the problem would be simple. Or, if human nature could be eliminated, then the solution might come easier to hand.

But every man is a problem by himself and requires individual treatment. You can not handle men in the mass. God never intended that this should be so. What might suffice for the man of sluggish temperament, who is never disturbed by a single new idea, will not answer for that throbbing human engine, who, with red blood in his veins, is fired with a rush of thought that arouses the deepest passions.

It isn't that we object to the man who has a mission. We need him. But sometimes a sense of humor would save him and us from serious embarrassment. As for the poor fellow who thinks that everybody is set against him on account of jealousy or ignorance—he is to be pitied. He is his own worst enemy. People do not think about him nearly as much as his self-consciousness leads him to suppose. Neither do they oppose him quite as much as he foolishly imagines.

When we are most generous to our friends and to the world we are most generous to ourselves.—Thomas Drier.

By practicing intelligent self-help you help your fellow-mortals.—Forbes Magazine.

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TWO MENACES TO PROGRESS

More than 17,000 mothers die yearly from causes incident to child bearing, and ill-health is suffered by a vast number of others from the same cause, reports the United States Children's Bureau. "These deaths and disabilities are now known to be needless in large measure, and among women who can command adequate care their proportions are already reduced. Over 200,000 babies less than a year old die annually. These infant deaths are controllable almost without exception. Poverty is a constant condition of the highest infant mortality rates, and the rates steadily improve as income increases to a good living standard. "The studies show that poverty and ignorance are yoke fellows and that civic responsibility for decent conditions of living is only beginning to reach an expression which can help to ease the burden."

LITTLE PURE WOOL USED

In its campaign against the use of shoddy in clothing, the national sheep and wool bureau of America states that last year this country used approximately three pounds of scoured wool per inhabitant. To meet the people's demand for virgin wool about 12 pounds of scoured wool should be marketed. The difference between the three pounds and the 12 pounds is met by manufacturers who spin and respin old clothes and rags, in some instances eight times, with just enough virgin wool to hold them together. These are marketed as "all wool," while store houses are bursting with virgin wool. The national sheep and wool bureau of America is urging the passage of the French-Capper "truth-in-fabric" bill, now pending in Congress, which would make it compulsory for manufacturers to label their shoddy goods.

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LABOR DAY, 1920.By **FRANK MORRISON**, Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

On this Labor Day there are many issues confronting wage earners, but none more fundamental than labor's demand for collective bargaining. With this assured the worker has a voice in conditions affecting what he will think, read, eat and wear, how he will educate his children and clothe them and what manner of home he may have.

Where collective bargaining is denied, the worker is powerless; his employer regulates his life.

This power of the non-union employer is accepted by a commission representing the Interchurch World Movement that investigated the recent strike of steel workers for collective bargaining. The report says:

"The arbitrary control of the Steel Corporation extended outside the plants, affecting the workers as citizens and the social institutions in the communities."

In all ages workers have united. They have struggled for liberty and they have overthrown dynasties and kings. Despite these upheavals there was no change in their economic status. They remained inferiors, "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Their working conditions were set by employers, whose power automatically extended to every social phase of their lives.

The modern trade union, as typified by the American Federation of Labor, is the first effective challenge to the world-old theory of serfdom, maintained in various forms, and around this challenge centers all opposition to organized labor.

To continue this status of inferiority and maintain control of their workers, employers talk of their so-called "open" shop and individual bargaining. These are but new names for a mastery over workers that is fought for just as stoutly today as when feudal barons held their serfs to the land.

The modern title that anti-trade union employers have applied to their serf theory fails to hide its purpose and effect.

Men cannot be free when they are compelled to bargain single-handed with a feudal baron's successor on rates of pay and working conditions.

Philanthropy cannot effect the principle involved. There can be no equality between men when an employer is gentle with his power, for if an employer has power to give justice he has the power to withhold it. His employees are subject to his graciousness and his whims.

There can be no co-operation in industry where an employer is final judge of his workers' physical endurance, wages and the effect of bad working conditions.

On this Labor Day the organized workers have set their stand of intelligence, solidarity and determination in an advanced position against this industrial serf theory that mocks every profession of Americanism by these employers.

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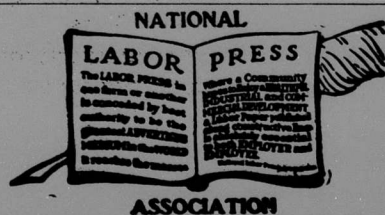


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JAMES W. MULLEN.....Editor
Telephone Market 56
Office, S. F. Labor Temple, 2940 Sixteenth Street

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1920

Think for thyself—one good idea,
But known to be thine own,
Is better than a thousand gleaned
From fields by others sown.

—Scott.

The so-called American plan has nothing whatever American about it. It is autocracy not democracy. It is an institution conceived by the employer in the interest of the employer, directed by the employer through managers and foremen with the purpose in view of denying the right of the worker to select his own representatives and to bargain collectively. In spite of these patent facts there are those brazen enough to believe that they can deceive wage workers into the idea that they are having a voice in the conduct of industry.

A rather queer injunction is asked for by Charles S. Fairchild of New York, president of the American Constitutional League. He is asking that Secretary of State Colby be enjoined from issuing any proclamation declaring the equal suffrage amendment ratified, and that Attorney-General Palmer be enjoined from enforcing the amendment. The action seems premature, because at the time the injunction was asked for the amendment had not been ratified by the required number of states. The Fairchild suit rests upon the two allegations that ratification of the suffrage amendment by the West Virginia Legislature was illegal because accomplished by fraud, and that the proposed ratification by the Tennessee Legislature would be illegal because that legislature lacks authority under the Constitution of Tennessee to act on the amendment. As to the first, courts are not in the habit of giving judicial sanction to a charge of fraud against a legislative body. The assertion that the Tennessee or any other state legislature lack authority under the constitution of its own state to act on a proposed Federal amendment, in the manner prescribed by the Federal Constitution, reads like a statement by the Mad Hatter in "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland."

-:- The Closed Shop -:-

Recently John R. Commons, professor of political economy of the University of Wisconsin, addressed the Industrial Relations Association of America in Chicago and called attention to the fact that back of the demand for the closed shop there are thirty to forty years of history filled with experiences that have taught valuable lessons to the wage worker and others capable of unbiased judgment. The worker knows what his condition was prior to the closed shop. He is well aware that he could not possibly have attained his present degree of progress without the closed shop and he is not inclined to relinquish his hold upon it without a desperate struggle.

Professor Commons is a practical printer and in discussing the subject says:

Thirty-five years ago I worked as a typesetter on a daily newspaper. We went to work at 1 o'clock in the afternoon and worked until about 5 o'clock; then we went to work again in the evening at about 7 o'clock and worked until 3:30 or 4 o'clock in the morning—about eleven or twelve hours a day, generally seven days a week. In the course of that week I was able to earn as high as \$21. The average in the office was about \$15 a week.

Twelve hours a day for \$15 to \$20 a week—this was the prevailing wage for printers thirty-five to forty years ago. About twenty-five years ago there came a great improvement in typesetting—the invention of the linotype. There was a great disturbance in the printing craft—it was thought that possibly women would come in to take the places of the men. But it was arranged between the union and the publishers' association that the old printers who had been setting type by hand should have the first opportunity to learn the linotype; that there should be set up a certain standard of efficiency; that they should have a certain number of months during which they might attain that standard of efficiency; and, most important of all, the hours of labor were reduced from eleven and twelve to seven and eight. Afternoon work was cut out and there was only night work, and gradually the wages rose much higher than they had been before for the twelve-hour day. The efficiency of the linotype was so great that one man could turn out five times as much work as he could formerly by hand. The introduction of the eight-hour day instead of the twelve-hour day, the increase of wages, the prevention of substitution of woman and child labor for skilled mechanics; that is what the closed shop has done for the printing trade.

Now compare with this the experience in another great industry that has been revolutionized by machinery, in order to see still more clearly how the working man feels about the closed shop.

Down to 1892 the iron and steel industry was practically a closed-shop industry. In 1892 came the great Homestead strike. The iron and steel workers' union was defeated. The steel companies then adopted the non-union policy, and with that policy they adopted the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week.

Furthermore, they succeeded in introducing the greatest labor-saving device that has ever been introduced in the steel industry—the continuous process, by which the metal is not cooled off from the time it leaves the blast furnace until it ends in structural shapes and iron rails. The efficiency of labor was enormously increased, but the workingman was reduced in his condition to a twelve-hour day and a seven-day week, on which he is kept, to a large extent, to the present time.

The closed shop is an evil, but we have not a choice between an evil and a perfect remedy. What is the alternative before us? If we start in with an open shop or a non-union shop—I consider the two identical—and thus are enabled to destroy the union movement, we may listen to the promises of employers who say that they will pay their workmen more wages and that their condition will be better, but experience teaches us that this has not happened under the open shop in the past. We have before us the great contrast which I have just presented. Surely, we are safer when we base our program on experience than when we base it on promises. The workingman has been through this experience; he has seen the results and he has resorted to the only remedy that was effective.

The closed shop policy has not restricted the general progress of the Nation. We must remember that the industry of the United States is increasing its productiveness every year. Today we produce four times as much per capita as we did one hundred years ago. There is four times as much to divide.

FLUCTUATING SENTIMENTS

There is now a big fight on among the reds as to whether they should support the Socialist party or the so-called Farmer-Labor party. There is no difference between the two parties, but two reds can never agree for more than five minutes on any proposition whatever. It has been ever thus.

At the November election the people will have presented to them propositions proposing increases in pay for the police and firemen and the Labor Council has indorsed both requests. No man can support a family these days on a wage of \$4.66 per day, so that justice demands an increase for these men, and they have been very modest in the amount asked.

This large Labor Day number of the official publication of the Labor Council would not have been possible without the co-operation of the large number of firms that have patronized its advertising columns, and for that reason they are entitled to the consideration of the members of the labor movement in preference to those who are unconcerned as to the progress of the workers toward a greater degree of justice.

There can be no progress in the labor movement or elsewhere without sacrifice and exertion, and the member of a union who is not willing to put his shoulder to the wheel and become a lifter rather than a leaner upon the organization is falling short of his duty. The member who simply pays dues and lets it go at that is not acting the part of a real unionist. There is more to unionism than dues. There is always a vast amount of work to be done and someone must do it or there will be no gains made.

An exchange says that St Joseph, Mo., has one man for whom the lusty squalls of children have no terrors. He is W. P. Fulkerson, a banker. And he is building a row of cottages for rent only to families with little ones and to newlyweds. Under the rules which govern the renting of the houses newly married couples must become parents within one year or vacate. Whenever a "new arrival" appears in one of the homes the rent for that month will be returned to the parents with the understanding that it is banked to the infant's credit. The site of dwelling is one of the city's most desirable residence districts.

The American Federation of Labor Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee is asking for contributions to the fund to be used in the distribution of literature and the sending of speakers to districts in which men unfriendly to labor are candidates. This call should receive the support of both individuals and unions. If it does not the campaign will not be the success it should be. The last Congress was a dismal failure so far as progressive legislation is concerned and unless a change is brought about the new Congress will be no better. There are many districts in which friends of labor can be elected if the funds necessary to carry on a fight are forthcoming, so that if we fail this fall we will have no one to blame but ourselves. Contribute promptly and send the contribution to Frank Morrison, Washington, D. C.

When trade unionists demand the union label they help put other trade unionists to work. Is this not a union principle worth practicing? Be consistent. Do the thing you know you ought to do. Demand the label always.

WIT AT RANDOM

Wifey—I heard a noise when you came in last night.

Hubby—Perhaps it was the night falling.

Wifey (coldly)—No, it wasn't; it was the day breaking.—Blighty (London).

Teacher—If Shakespeare were alive today, wouldn't he be looked upon as a remarkable man?

Bright Lad—He sure would. He'd be three hundred years old.—American Legion Weekly.

Sunday School Teacher—Now, boys, there is a wonderful example in the life of the ant. Every day the ant goes to work and works all day. Every day the ant is busy. And in the end what happens?

Willie—Somebody steps on him.—American Legion Weekly.

"John," snapped Mrs. Gabb sharply, "you're the rudest man I know. Here I've been talking and you've been yawning in my face for the last half hour."

"I wasn't yawning, my dear," replied her husband meekly. "I was just trying to say something."—American Legion Weekly.

Ira Andrews, the newly-elected city clerk of Terre Haute, is active in Sunday-school work. Last Sunday he advised the children of his class that the morning study would be about Ruth, referring, of course, to the gleaner.

"Now," said Andrews after introducing the subject, "who can tell me anything about Ruth?"

Up went a little hand in the rear of the class "Well, Willie," asked the teacher, "what do you know about Ruth?"

"He made twenty-nine home-runs last season," was the answer.—Indianapolis News.

Once I proposed to a nice young lady.

She told me to go ask father.

Now I knew that her father was dead,

I knew the kind of a life he had led.

So I knew what she meant when she

Told me to go ask father.—Selected.

MISCELLANEOUS

JUST BE GLAD.

By James Whitcomb Riley.

O heart of mine, we shouldn't worry so;
What we've missed of calm we couldn't have,
you know!

What we've met of stormy pain
And of sorrow's driving rain
We can better meet again
If it blow.

We have erred in that dark we have known,
When our tears fell with the shower, all alone!
Where not shine and shadow blent
As the gracious Master meant!
Let us temper our content
With His own.

For we know not every morrow can be sad;
So, forgetting all the sorrow we have had,
Let us fold away our fears
And put by our foolish tears,
And through all the coming years
Just be glad!

Experts are full just now of advice on what to do when entering the sea. But we have searched in vain for guidance when the sea enters us, which it always does if we venture to bathe.—London Opinion.

Here's a new variation of an old one:

Back in the spring of 1918 an officer intercepted Private Wheeler, a giant backwoodsman from Maine, wearing a boche helmet and an air of grandeur. He came out of the clouds, however, at the sharp query:

"Who gave you permission to wear German issue?"

"Please, lootnant," he stammered, "don't make me give this up. I had ter do away with seven Jerries ter git my size."

The officer looked over his Gargantuan proportions and his eyes widened.

"My God, man!" he exclaimed. "If you ever lose your shoes, the war's over."—American Legion Weekly.

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IS THE LABOR QUESTION UNSOLVABLE?

By RALPH M. EASLEY,
In National Civic Federation Review.

The widely heralded debate between Mr. Samuel Gompers and Governor Henry Justin Allen of Kansas on the labor question in general took place, as agreed, at Carnegie Hall, New York, on Friday evening, May 28; but the place was the only thing of consequence that the two managing committees could agree upon.

Typifying what was to follow, the committees, after several prolonged and heated conferences, failed to agree upon a statement of the question to be discussed, nor could they agree on the order in which the speakers were to discuss whatever it was they would happen to discuss. So, on the first point, they left it to a "free for all," "catch-as-catch-can" effort, and on the latter they resorted to that highly intellectual method originated by the cave men of "tossing up" for it. In referring thus flippantly to the troubles of the committees which started out with such high hopes of settling the labor problem "face to face," "man-fashion," and all the rest, it is only to place emphasis on the size and the highly complicated character of the job. Of course, starting out in such an atmosphere of disagreement, it is not strange that no debate took place. What did occur, however, and it was entirely worth while and a credit to Mr. Sol Fieldman, who conceived and brought about the meeting, was that three hours of time was evenly divided between two eminent and eloquent speakers, in which, as in all talkfests of this nature, each attacked the weak spots in the other's armor and, of course, said nothing about his own.

Mr. Gompers, in his first speech, laid the groundwork for a forcible, fundamental argument against compulsory arbitration or the attempt to make a man work against his will. Governor Allen's reply was practically an admission of Mr. Gompers' premises, ignoring the important fact, that by so doing, he was left logically with not a leg to stand upon. The governor made much of a hypothetical question which he put to Mr. Gompers three times and which Mr. Gompers did not directly answer. In fact, all Mr. Gompers' critics have made much of his "dodging," as they call it. Mr. Gompers himself said the question—or questions, as there are two included in the one—was a catch question and, to be consistent with itself, should be answered both "Yes" and "No." The questions, as put by the governor, were:

1. "When a dispute between capital and labor brings on a strike affecting the production or distribution of the necessities of life, thus threatening the public and impairing the public health, has the public any rights in such a controversy, or is it a private war between capital and labor?"

2. "If you answer this question in the affirmative, Mr. Gompers, how would you protect the rights of the public?"

If the first question had been properly drafted, Mr. Gompers could well have answered "Yes" to the first part and "No" to the second part.

To the second question, Mr. Gompers could have well replied: "I don't know, nor do I believe anyone else knows." Of course, the governor would have maintained that the Kansas law would furnish the

remedy; but, with Mr. Gompers pointing out that, at that very moment, 12,000 men in a basic industry were on strike in Kansas, in spite of the law, which the governor did not deny, he would not have gotten very far; and, so far as showing that the Kansas law was an answer to his own question, he did not prove his case throughout the whole discussion.

But, even if every man in Kansas were kept at work under the law, it would have little, if any, bearing on the general problem. What might work in Kansas, an agricultural state, with a comparatively small handful of industrial workers, furnishes no key to what would work in the great industrial states. There are propositions that might work in Colorado, Utah and South Dakota that would not "get anywhere" in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New York and other industrial states. But we do not have to depend upon the operation of the Kansas law, which is barely six months old and under which so far nearly every case has been decided in favor of the men, to ascertain how you can or cannot make a man work against his will. New Zealand, Australia and Canada have been trying it out

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for some fifteen to twenty years, and, while the arbitration laws in no two of these countries are identical, they all in common aim, under certain contingencies, to prevent a man from striking and to make him work against his will, or go to jail, with the result of uniform failure. As in Kansas, these laws were at first highly respected by some of the workers, because the decisions were practically always in their favor. Times were good and the employers could afford to pay high wages; but when business began to slacken and the boards of managers began refusing the advances demanded by the men and in some cases reducing the wages, the whole thing "blew up," so to speak, and right here is where it "blew." When the board refused to grant the advance demanded by 10,000 abattoir workers in New Zealand, the men struck in defiance of the award. The court being appealed to, placed a fine of \$100 on each man, which every man refused to pay. The next step would have been to jail the 10,000 workers. Of course, there were no jails big enough to hold them all, nor were there any office holders with sufficient courage to lock up the ten thousand men, even if there had been plenty of jail room. This showed the men that the law could not be enforced and they lost all fear of it and, consequently, all respect for it. In Canada, to come nearer home, a similar situation arose, in connection with 12,000 miners, with exactly the same result.

Mr. Dorr E. Felt, president of that very live and rather anti-union labor organization, the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, in an address last December before the National Association of Employment Managers, said:

"In studying the industrial history of England, I am rather discouraged respecting much that is being advocated; for instance, compulsory arbitration.

"I am very well acquainted with Mr. George S. Beeby, Minister of Labor for New South Wales, Australia, where labor legislation has been carried further than in any other place in the world, involving a complete system of wage boards and courts for the settlement of industrial strife instituted and now in operation since 1901. Mr. Beeby is the author of the present law. He tells me that, instead of reducing industrial strife, under laws which forbid strikes, industrial strife and strikes have increased. In fact, the time lost on account of industrial disputes in New South Wales was six times as great in 1917 as in 1913.

"In one of our recent bills in Congress, there was a proposition to forbid strikes on the part of public employees—in this case railroad employees. I am not in favor of that, because the experience with such laws in Europe has always been a failure. It is a good deal like plugging up a volcano—sooner or later you have an explosion that is greater than anything that would have happened had the vent been open all the time.

"After the Black Death—the Great Plague—I think that was in 1347—there was a great scarcity of labor, something similar to the present. Laws were passed forbidding labor organizations and strikes. The first one was passed in 1351. It didn't do the work, so from time to time more severe laws and penalties were enacted, until they finally got to the point where those that struck were worked in chain gangs, and some were branded with hot irons.

"I have never found a case where laws forbidding strikes were effective. In the early middle ages, under conditions of extreme ignor-

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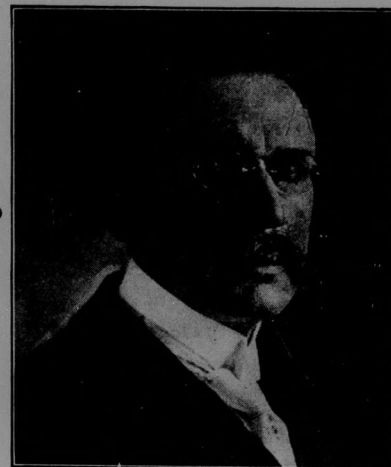
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ance and serfdom, it seemed to work for a time, but in the end it always failed."

Bearing so cogently upon this same phase of the question at issue is the following extract from a speech made recently in the federal parliament of Australia by Prime Minister Hughes:

"The industrial question, looked at from one point of view, is the result of eternal conflict between the classes. Looked at from another point of view—and, I believe, the right one—it is the inevitable consequence of modern civilization and modern methods of production and distribution.

"I confess that I have no remedy at hand. This house has been a laboratory of industrial experiments. I listened to Alfred Deakin introducing the arbitration and conciliation bill in a most glowing and glorious speech, and I feel now as I felt then that along the line then outlined mankind ought to walk, abandoning the crude barbaric methods of industrial warfare. Years have passed and this perfect piece of legislation has turned out to be, despite every kind of minister in office, the most inefficient and hopelessly futile effort to solve the industrial question that ever came out of the laboratory of any industrial workshop. Even the president of the court had from time to time indulged in gloomy jeremiads and had been torn with pangs of despair.

"It is a court the approach to which is marked by barbed-wire entanglements. At the very threshold of its portals there is an almost bottomless pit, and those who by happy chance found their way into the court wander aimlessly about, and at last come out almost without knowing it and saying "where are we?" or "What has happened?" It has frequently been necessary to strike in order to get into the court, which was designed to prevent industrial strife! Law-abiding unions which had been waiting patiently have then been pushed aside, and the others have gone in and come out full to repletion. The jurisdiction of the court has been riddled again and again by high court judgment."

Mr. Hughes, continuing, said that they intended to call a conference of employers and employees. They believed that the remedy was in the hands of the parties themselves and that without a good understanding between both sides, no means, no legislation, nothing which was forced upon them from outside would serve.

In other words, after twenty years' experience with all kinds of devices to prevent strikes and lock-outs by law, the prime minister, himself a labor man and a statesman, comes back to the original proposition of holding voluntary conferences.

Further testimony to this same effect is found in the English labor paper edited by W. A. Appleton, general secretary Federation of Trade Unions, London, in its issue of June 11, 1920. A two-page article on Compulsory Arbitration in Australia embodies a letter from Reg. J. Burchell, member of the house of representatives, Melbourne, in which he encloses a paper read by Hon. H. Y. Braddon, M. L. C., at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Australia, held in Sydney in March, 1920. In Mr. Burchell's letter occurs the following sentence:

"I must confess that compulsory arbitration in Australia has resulted

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in the widening of the breach between capital and labor, and I feel that our present practice needs serious amendment."

And the speech of Mr. Braddon is a critical analysis of the twenty years' legislation and experience under the Australian Compulsory Arbitration Act.

This is not to say that the public has no interest in a strike in basic industries, for it has; but it is to say that compulsory laws do not meet the case, and it is no answer to anyone who points out that fact, to retort: "Well, if that will not work, what do you propose?" Granting that in controversies affecting the public as a whole the public interest is paramount, no man or set of men has thus far evolved an effective method for securing to the public those paramount rights. One can easily picture a state of affairs in which it would seem that starvation or freezing to death confronted the American people, yet, without any laws, a way has always been found thus far in our hundred years of industrial development to prevent either of those awful things from happening. In the great anthracite coal strike in 1903, as Mr. Gompers pointed out, the President of the United States created a voluntary commission that settled the controversy in time to prevent any freezing of the public and, as pointed out by Mr. Gompers, in the celebrated "stop-watch" strike of the railway brotherhoods, it was settled not by any law, but by a commission appointed by the President, consisting of two representatives of the railroads and two representatives of the railroad workers. In the great coal strike last year, the Lever law was appealed to, but the strike took place in spite of it, and it was finally settled by voluntary effort. At one time it looked as though the railroads of the nation would be tied up, but the President again intervened and there was no strike. In the present anthracite coal controversy, after a long series of joint conferences, at which agreement could not be reached, the whole matter was referred to a commission named by the President. In fact, it can pretty safely be counted upon that the President of the United States whenever any great crisis arises will step in, or appoint a national commission of the highest character and standing, which will meet that particular emergency, which is much better, for many reasons, than legislation creating a standing commission to inject itself into every controversy that arises.

Governor Allen stressed his whole argument on this paramountcy of the public in industrial conflicts and the great losses in dollars and cents to all concerned. In public utilities, including in that category coal mining, as in Canada, it goes without saying that such is the case, but there are limitations to this argument. If the workers depended on the public alone, they would rarely, if ever, make any progress, for the fundamental reason that the public is wholly selfish. It does not want to be inconvenienced. In a strike on a street railroad the public does the walking and the swearing. It makes no difference how long may be the hours the men work or how small may be their pay. "If they don't like their jobs," the public generally says, "they should get others, but, under no circumstances make us walk." How long would it have taken the public to wake up and organize to force the "bloated coal barons" to give shorter hours and increases in the pitifully low wages of the anthracite coal miners in 1903?

In regard to the appalling cost to the wage earners, there is another

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side to that question. The big headline figures about the losses of hundreds of millions of dollars on account of millions of days' wages being lost are frequently great fallacies. In some cases not a cent is lost and the increase in wages is a clear gain. The 1910 anthracite strike of six weeks only changed the date of the annual shut-down of the mines. Just as much coal was produced for the year, but the miners got more for the portion mined after the strike. The headline statisticians can always scare the public by multiplying days by the wage rates, but no headliner has ever pointed out another startling fact, and that is that in any normal year there are more days of labor lost on any three of the seven national holidays than in all the strikes of that year. Think of the three billion days lost on Sundays and Saturday afternoons, and yet nobody counts that a loss, but a gain. It is not meant by this that there is not unnecessary loss, suffering, injustice and abuse of power many times by the unions, but it does mean that a good deal of the statistics put out on the subject is pure and unadulterated rot.

But to return to the debate. It is safe to say that not a man represented by Governor Allen's committee was impressed by anything said by Mr. Gompers. As one of the committee said in the hearing of the writer: "Well, the governor wiped up the floor with Sam. He got him going in the first round and never let up." It is equally true that not a trade unionist or a sympathizer with the trade unionists was convinced by anything said by the governor. A member of Mr. Gompers' committee expressed the general feeling in that regard when he said: "Well, the old man put it all over the governor tonight. In his second speech he kicked him all over the stage."

In fact, from the standpoint of an outsider, the discussion could be considered a replica of what would have occurred any time in the past twenty years with Mr. Gompers on one side and any of the presidents of the National Manufacturers' Association on the other. But suppose a railroad or a coal strike should occur, law or no law, would the American people starve or freeze? There was a time when the very thought of such a calamity would send the shivers down our backs, but something happened within the last twelve months that threw a

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new light on this matter or, may I say, put some starch in the backbones of the public. First, there was the threat of the railway unions to tie up all the railways of England and then the real attempt to put the threat into effect. The people replied to the radical demands of the railroad men: "No! Our backs are against the wall. Go to it and we will show you where you get off." And they did show them. The same thing happened in this country when the coal miners threatened to force, through a strike, an unreasonable set of demands. The people said: "Strike! We will not have a government by miners or any other class of people." In that situation the public suffered, but it showed the miners that it was willing to suffer. Governor Allen himself gave the most effective exhibition of how to meet unreasonable demands from wage earners.

But both of these crises were met without attempting by law to force any man to work, and, speaking by and large, the determination by the public to resist tyranny broke both strikes.

One of the most popular arguments for the Kansas law is that it treats industrial disputes in the same manner as society treats all other disputes through courts of law. Do we not submit all our differences, of whatever nature, to judges and juries, even our most intimate affairs? The control of our children, our marriage relations, the question of inheritance and thousands of other matters are controlled by statutes which are interpreted and applied by courts of law. To say that there are any more delicate questions arising in the relations between the employer and the employee than between a man and his wife is, they argue, an absurdity. This view is so generally maintained by the public that it is almost accepted as an axiom. Every lawyer, educated to revere and trust the courts in his every-day practice, naturally upholds this view. The fact that so many distinguished lawyers were on the President's second Industrial Commission, doubtless accounted for the court idea, panels and juries bulking so large in its conclusions. But are industrial disputes to be classed with all other disputes? Emphatically no. The principles governing disputes in general have been evolved out of centuries of experience, by long and tedious processes, and, concededly, just codes and precedents have been established governing almost every conceivable phase of human misunderstanding. Not so in the industrial world. There is no agreed code, no agreed precedent. Changes in public sentiment from the time not long ago when, as Mr. Gompers pointed out, it was a crime to ask for higher wages, when legislation was sought for a maximum wage, while now it is sought for a minimum wage have been so revolutionary as to baffle all attempts to determine a status from which a code could be evolved. Recall the President's first Industrial Conference last October, composed of some of the ablest and most representative men from the three groups—the public, labor and capital.

It was hoped that this conference might be able to establish a code which should govern industrial relations, but it could agree upon nothing and adjourned, each group denouncing the others and many members denouncing their fellow members within their own groups. The President then called a second conference, composed only of representatives of the public, leaving out representatives of the two groups—capital and labor—which had to be reconciled. This

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conference, of course, had no trouble in agreeing, but both capital and labor vigorously disapproved of its findings. The same result would have followed any conference called by either of the other groups. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States is now taking a referendum on the subject. It will have no trouble in reaching an agreement because only one side is doing the voting. With equal facility the American Federation of Labor unanimously agreed upon an industrial program at a meeting representing the 113 international organizations composing that body. Take the latest and, may I say, most conspicuous illustration, the so-called Gompers-Allen debate itself. Could anyone glimpse the faintest outline of code in the tense, and at times heated, atmosphere at Carnegie Hall that night? On the codes, civil and criminal and the precedents established for the government of all the other disputes with which society has to deal, there could not be staged a debate at Carnegie Hall, nor would the President's conferences, composed as the first one was, even have the least difficulty in agreeing on them. In fact, even to suggest the holding of such a conference would be taken as a sign of lunacy. But when it comes to the so-called capital and labor problems, as stated in the first paragraph, the only thing Messrs. Gompers and Allen could agree upon was the time and place of the debate.

But can nothing be done to bring about better relations between capital and labor? Must we sit with folded hands and look upon these industrial conflicts with utter complacency? No. Certainly we should strive to do everything in our power to hasten the day when selfishness, ignorance, social, religious and class hatred and all those things that interfere with the operation of the Golden Rule are swept away. Then will come industrial peace.

But that means the millennium, says one. True; but industrial peace is not the only great problem that is awaiting that day for solution. International peace is in the same category. Then there is religious union and concord yet to be attained. Observe the differences, for instance, between the Protestant and the Catholic Church, and between faction within individual Protestant denominations, for example, those between the Northern and Southern branches of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which forty years' earnest endeavor has been unsuccessful in reconciling.

Moreover, consider the distressing problems in our methods of government—Federal, State and municipal—that are unsolvable. Look at the municipal government in our large cities. What Christian citizen can here feel proud of the results of his use of the great privilege of the ballot? What progress have we made in two thousand years in dealing with that terrible problem, the social evil, to mention only one among many others? Are we not expecting too much when we hope to discover some mechanical slot-device solution for the intricate and baffling problems involved in the relations between employers and workmen?

But because we have never found a complete solution to all these problems, is no reason to despair. We are making tremendous progress in many fields of human endeavor. Compare the conditions of the wage earner, for example, fifty years ago with those of today—his wages, hours of work, hours of toil for children, conditions of labor for women, etc. An enumeration of the beneficent legislation in the last twenty-five

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years in the interest of the worker would alone furnish justification for the hope that, slowly but surely, we are working towards a better understanding and appreciation of our industrial problems, which, of course, in the end means industrial peace. But let us not be discouraged because it is not achieved over night.

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A nation-wide campaign has been launched by organized labor to secure the adoption in all states of exclusive state insurance funds for workmen's compensation, similar to the Ohio law.

This advanced action was ordered in a resolution unanimously adopted at the recent Montreal convention of the American Federation of Labor which in vigorous terms condemns private profit taken by commercial insurance companies out of the misfortunes of injured workers.

"The American Federation of Labor," the resolution states, "has repeatedly appealed for the elimination of private profit in the operation of the workmen's compensation laws. In the state of Ohio the law has worked to the advantage of the wage workers and with the elimination of private companies much greater benefits are available to the injured workers. We have appealed in the past to the various state federations to have them work for the adoption of legislation which will give to the state alone the control and operation of the workmen's compensation law. The present law in operation in Ohio is one that other states can safely follow."

The resolution instructs Secretary Morrison to call the attention of the secretary of each state federation to the Ohio compensation law "with the request that each state federation petition for the enactment of similar legislation in each state."

AN OPEN LETTER

To my many personal friends and former clients who are members of the various labor organizations, and who, during the Primary Election Campaign which closed on August 31st, have so actively supported my candidacy for election to the office I now hold, through this medium I send my thanks.

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Following is a brief description of the twenty measures that will appear on the ballot:

Amendments Presented by Legislature

New Constitution—Senate Constitutional Amendment No. 10—Instructing the Legislature to call a convention to prepare a new Constitution; fixing the number of delegates to be chosen at 163, of whom one shall be chosen from each assembly district, one from each county, and twenty-five from the state at large.

State Aid to Children—Senate Constitutional Amendment No. 19—Providing for state aid for children of a father who is incapacitated for gainful work by permanent physical disability or is suffering from tuberculosis in such a stage that he cannot pursue a gainful occupation.

Poll Tax on Aliens—Assembly Constitutional Amendment No. 13—Providing for annual poll tax of four dollars on every alien male, from 21 to 60 years, for the school fund.

Exempting Orphan Asylums—Assembly Constitutional Amendment No. 40—Exempting from taxation buildings and real estate for orphan asylums sheltering more than twenty orphans or half-orphans.

Absent Voters—Assembly Constitutional Amendment No. 10—Providing that traveling salesmen absent from their residence on election day may vote.

Initiative Measures.

University Tax—Initiative measure levying an ad valorem tax of 12 cents on each \$100 of assessed property. Money to be kept in special "State University Fund" and drawn only on order of the Board of Regents.

Initiative—Increasing from 8 per cent to 25 per cent the number of signatures required to submit taxation measures to the voters.

Highway Bonds—Increasing interest rate on \$40,000,000 highway bond issue from 4½ per cent to 6 per cent.

Anti-vaccination—Annuling all laws requiring vaccination as prerequisite to admission to schools, etc.

Anti-vivisection—Forbidding experiments on animals for testing or developing curative measures against disease.

Salaries of Justices—Increasing the salaries of the Justices of the Supreme Court and Court of Appeals.

Salaries of Teachers—Providing for increase of salaries of teachers, levying taxes therefor, and for other purposes.

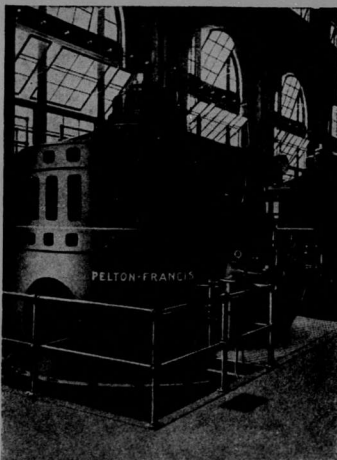
Single Tax—Providing for a tax on land values.

Chiropractics—Establishing a board to examine chiropractic practitioners, and to regulate their practice.

Alien Land Law—Forbidding sale or lease of land to aliens who are not eligible to citizenship.

On Referendum.

Prohibition Enforcement—Senate Bill No. 390, approved April 16, 1919, and held up by referendum petition. Provides for use of the peace



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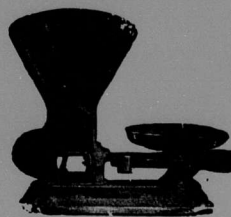
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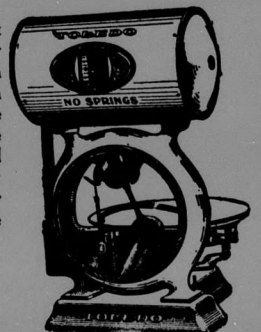
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officers of the State in enforcement of the prohibition amendment and the laws passed therefor.

Community Property—Senate Bill No. 471, approved May 27, 1919, and held up on referendum petition. Provides that on the death of the wife, one-half the community property goes to the husband and the other half is subject to disposal by will of the wife. On the death of the husband one-half goes to the wife and the other half may be disposed of by will of the husband. If the will gives the property of the decedent to a person other than the surviving spouse or a lineal descendant the consent of the survivor in writing attached to the will is required.

Sale of Poisons—Senate Bill No. 604, approved May 27, 1919. Forbids the sale or gift of opium, morphine, cocaine and similar drugs except on the written prescription of physician, dentist or veterinary surgeon, and regulates their use. Also forbids the sale of hypodermic syringes to unauthorized persons.

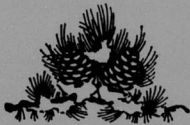
Irrigation—Senate Bill No. 493, held up by referendum. Amending the Irrigation Act of 1897 to permit the organization of a district to be proposed by a majority of property owners or by 500 petitioners to be either electors or property owners therein.

Banking and Insurance—Senate Bill No. 708, held up by referendum. Forbidding employees or agents of banks to act as general agent or managerial agent or department manager of an insurance company and limiting privilege of bank employees to act as insurance agents.

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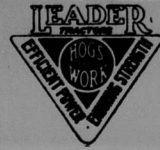
There wouldn't be any danger of a food shortage this winter if we could put all the politicians to hoeing corn and sowing wheat. *Charleston News and Courier.*

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PROPERTY vs. HUMAN RIGHTS.

By RICHARD CAVERLY.

Does the disorder of the world mean that for the moment its problems have outstripped the capacity of man, or does it mean that there is something fundamentally wrong with our civilization? Have we been merely left behind or are we actually moving in the wrong direction? Are our great institutions merely inefficient, or are they wrong and perverse in purpose? During the war there was a spirit of optimism that made men give the first answer. Today there is an increasing tendency to give the second. Just as a century ago Pitt thought or affected to think that by one stupendous act of corruption at the passing of the Union he could buy up the fee-simple of corruption so many of us thought that by one stupendous act of violence we were going to put an end to violence. The war was not merely fought to repel German aggression; it was a war to end war, to get rid once and for all of that "goblin dread" which had kept the whole world trembling. Nobody talks like that today, for the world, instead of breathing again after its four years of horror, is still haunted by the same demon of fear, and for one form that fear took before the war it takes today a hundred.

It is natural then that men should be asking more searching questions about our civilization than the questions they asked before the war. It was then the custom to regard the unrest and the quarrels of mankind, the sacrifice of life and happiness that still disfigured the world, as consequences of our imperfection, consequences that would gradually disappear with greater education and the progress of science. It is significant that we talked of war as an anachronism. The imposing confidence in the future of the race which struck such deep roots in the eighteenth century assumed a characteristic form in our life in the great industrial expansion of the beginning of the last century. To our grandfathers all that was needed for progress to the day of universal peace was that commerce should expand and that men of all classes should have the sense or the knowledge to understand where their interests lay. War between nations, war between classes, was the result of ignorance, not of the system that men were pursuing. The main lines of our civilization were right, but most people were too stupid as yet to act on its principles. The idea lasted through the century. When Cobden was teaching his countrymen to hate war he presented commerce as the great peacemaker. When Norman Angell was combating the war spirit before the Great War he sought to show that no nation could increase its wealth by war. It was taken for granted that this was the one supreme and governing purpose of the life of nations.

We have made acquisition the object of life, and we have in consequence organized our society on a plan that directly produces misery and war. He argues that for two centuries we have been building up our society on a basis of property rights without any controlling standard of common purpose. We have acquisition the end and not a means to happiness and a free life. The reaction against mediaeval despotism of one kind or another provoked an exaggerated theory of absolute rights, and this theory found its most important expression here in the economic gospel of the industrial revolution. From the belief that the free play of capital was the chief civilizing power in a nation—a

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not unnatural illusion in the circumstances of the time—there was developed a new respect for property as such. What have been the consequences? "Whereas in earlier ages," says Mr. Tawney, "the protection of property was normally the protection of work, the relationship between them has come in the course of the economic development of the last two centuries to be very nearly reversed. The two elements which compose civilization are active effort and passive property, the labor of human things and the tools which human beings use. Of these two elements those who supply the first maintain and improve it, those who own the second normally merely dictate its character, its development, and its administration. Hence, though politically free, the mass of mankind live, in effect, under rules imposed to protect the interests of the small section among them whose primary concern is ownership. . . . If the world is to be governed for the advantage of those who own, it is only incidentally and by accident that the results will be agreeable to those who work.

The affairs of mankind, for hundreds of years, among the Nations of the World has been in the hands of so-called statesmen; another name for them is diplomats. The ideal diplomatist should be a man that loves truth and follows it. One writer says a diplomat should have learning, experience, penetration, eloquence, as well as the most equable temper, the most easy gallantry, the quickest repartee, the most tireless patience; he must be courageous without being rash, dignified without being mysterious, wealthy without being too proud of his purse, well-bred without being haughty. He must dispense gifts generously, though he should rarely take them, and he should do his bribing like a gentleman, in the due fashion of the court to which he is accredited. In a democratic state he should flatter the Diet—and feed it, for good cheer is an admirable road to influence. He should have a flair for nosing out secrets as well as a genius for hiding them; his use of spies is the test, almost the measure of his excellence. "The wise and enlightened negotiator must of course be a good Christian." Machiavelli explained princely policy and Chesterfield worldly polish no more lucidly than Callieres, who was private secretary to the Most Christian King Louis XIV and ambassador and plenipotentiary entrusted with the Treaty of Ryswick, explained the devices and virtues of his craft. He had high standards for diplomatists; he wanted them to be better trained, better valued, and better rewarded than they were. He thought they should be men of letters and men of peace. He would not have held himself to blame for assuming that the relation between even friendly princes was that of ceaseless rivalry and that the first interest of each was to take something from the others. Those were the assumptions of the age. Callieres was merely pointing out, with tact and charm, how the members of the diplomatic corps might best observe all the punctilios that go with honor among the most precious thieves.

Here, then, at the very base of our civilization we have a permanent cause of disunion. For "functionless property can not unite men, for what unites them is the bond of service to a common purpose, and that bond it repudiates, since its very essence is the maintenance of rights irrespective of service." Thus mankind as soon as it ceased to ask of its institutions, "What end do they serve? How do they contribute to happiness and the good life?" put itself under the tyranny of this new master. The interests of functionless property can never be the common interest of man, and so long as society is organized for its defence it is organized on a principle of war. So with the relations of classes.

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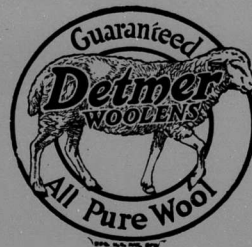
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We are making our supreme purpose, as a society, a purpose that does not satisfy man or express more than part of him. In this respect we have not advanced on the Greeks or the Middle Ages, when man was regarded as something more than a creature pursuing gain. Our aims are poorer.

In your mediaeval age in Europe the simple and the natural man, with all his violent passions and desires, was engaged in trying to find out a reconciliation in the conflict between the flesh and the spirit. All through the turbulent career of her vigorous youth the temporal and the spiritual forces both acted strongly upon her nature and were moulding it into completeness of moral personality. Europe owes all her greatness in humanity to that period of discipline—the discipline of the man in his human integrity.

We are looking wildly round the world for some escape from our fears, fear of war, fear of anarchy, fear of famine. We have made a peace of fear, and Europe trembles and starves. At home, we are seeking uneasy compromises between classes and temporary accommodations between rival interests. If Mr. Tawney's brilliant analysis is correct, peace is impossible between men or between nations so long as our society is organized on the assumption that the motive of gain is the predominant motive of man. What is wrong is not that our civilization is undeveloped, but that its spirit and purpose are false. To those who think that the reorganization of democracy with a different motive inspiring our institutions, may yet save the world his book is full of inspiration and wise guidance.

LAW AND ORDER IN 1849.

How law and order came to California after 1849, and how the State contributed to the cause of the Union in its support of the Government during the Civil War, will be among the topics discussed in lectures to be delivered before clubs and organizations throughout the State this fall by Miss Mary F. Williams of the University of California, under the auspices of the Extension Division, Director Leon J. Richardson today announced.

Miss Williams, the only woman recipient of a doctor of philosophy degree in the department of history at the State University, is the daughter of a pioneer, Lieutenant Williams, who came to California in 1847 with Colonel Stevenson's regiment. As a student under the late Professor Henry Morse Stephens, Dr. Williams made a special study of California history during the period between the gold discovery and the Civil War, with particular attention to the days of the Vigilance Committee of 1851.

Her lectures will deal sympathetically and substantially with the problems of democracy fought out among the 400,000 men who suddenly rushed to California's gold fields and there solved their problems of self-government and decency, Professor Richardson stated.

The war destroyed political autocracy. The only potential force that can destroy economic autocracy is the constructive trade union movement. We can never have industrial democracy until we have a strong, compact economic movement.

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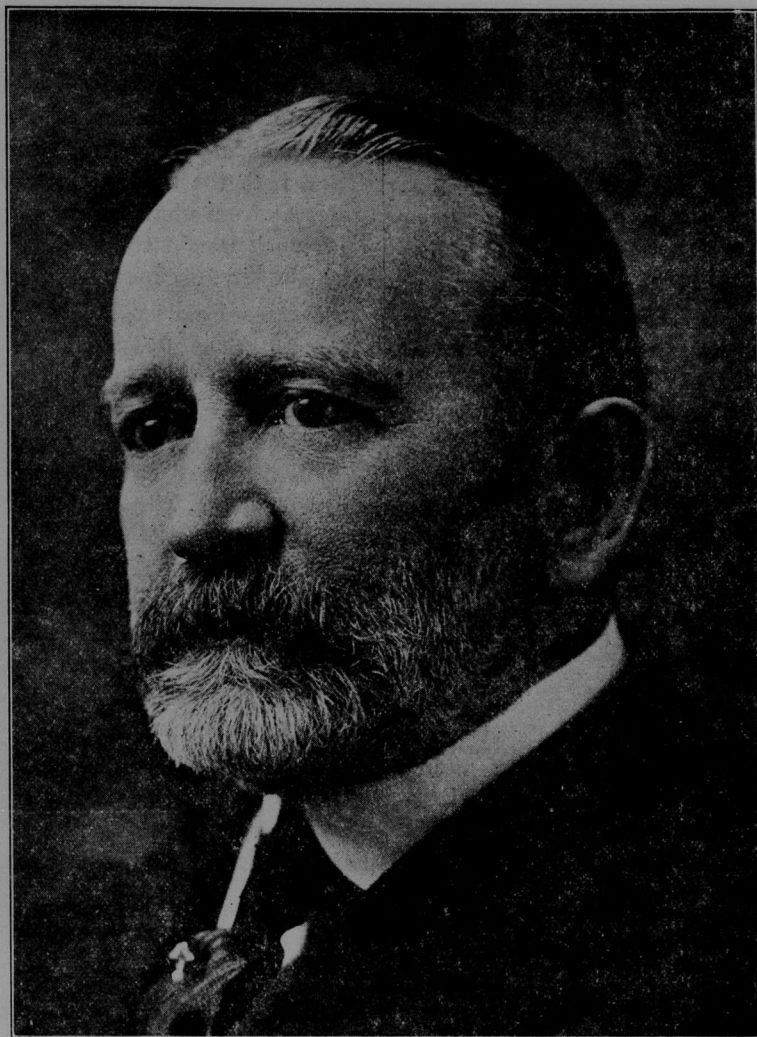
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The Oriental Menace—*What It Means and How to Avert It*

By JAMES D. PHELAN, United States Senator for California



U. S. SENATOR JAMES D. PHELAN

My objection to the occupation of the soil of California, either by ownership or lease, by the Japanese agriculturists, is fundamental. A prosperous State is one which supports a patriotic population, homogeneous in character, contributing to the social and religious life, upholding American institutions, and ready with their lives to hold their ground and defend their flag.

When any element enters into the community which disturbs its equilibrium, weakens its system, or threatens its life, no mere production of wealth for a short time, or for a long time, can compensate the State for the loss. A foreign substance has entered the body politic which can not be assimilated. It deranges the human economy, and, unless encysted, causes disease and ultimately dissolution.

For example, a Japanese farmer takes a farm from a white family. The white family contributed to the community life in all its branches, and the proceeds of its labor circulated freely, carrying benefits wherever they went, and still remaining in the community. The Japanese are unsocial, yet gregarious, deal with one another, and send back to their country the net results of their thrift. Their presence and their impossible competition not only expel the whites, but prevent other white people from settling in and developing the State. The amazing growth of the Japanese by immigration and by a high birth rate easily forecasts the ultimate fate of California, which, unless there be remedial laws, will become an Oriental colony.

In order to save the State for the white race, Oriental immigration must be absolutely forbidden and the borders closely guarded against surreptitious entrance. With a hundred thousand Japanese in California we must address ourselves to the evils which their presence entails.

In answer to those who say we can not get along without the assistance of the Oriental races, it is sufficient to say that within the extensive wheat and rice areas of the Sacramento Valley, where the Japanese are in competition with the whites, there is no trouble today in securing labor, but the danger is that with the lapse of time the farm labor, which is migratory, will cease to flow into California on account of the presence of the Japanese and thus facilitate surrender of the white races as tillers of the soil, which I greatly fear.

So great, however, is the necessity for production of foodstuffs that if every Oriental departed from California tomorrow there would only be a temporary shortage, because everybody would get busy in the business of production, and the work would be highly remuner-

ated. We could well afford a slight interruption, suffer inconvenience, and even make sacrifices, in order by some drastic means to restore the soil to the white man.

In order to save the State for the white race, Oriental immigration must be absolutely forbidden and the borders closely guarded against surreptitious entrance. With a hundred thousand Japanese in California, we must address ourselves to the evil which their presence entails.

We can not allow Orientals to hold the land. We must amend our State laws so as to prevent them from using the corporation to camouflage their identity, and to discourage so far as possible the taking of the land in the names of children born on the soil, who, under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, are citizens. Initiative laws on these very subjects are to be voted on by the people of California in the coming November election, and they should pass unanimously. Congress should pass an exclusion law and take steps to amend the Fourteenth Amendment, which was passed in the interests of the negroes as a war measure, and did not contemplate accommodating an aggressive and warlike race, seeking mastery of the Pacific States under the forms of law.

I have great hopes of land settlement movement, which was begun in Australia and is now established in California, restoring the soil, even that which has passed into Oriental hands, to the men and women of the white races. Under the plan, actual settlers are put upon the soil, which is sold to them in small parcels on easy terms over a long period of years. The land is purchased by the State, and the State is ultimately reimbursed. In other words, the State becomes the benevolent banker, getting its principal compensation in re-establishing homes and laying deep the basis of democratic institutions.

I don't see why the Land Settlement Board should not by giving full compensation buy the tracts now held by the Orientals and settle them with favorable citizens. If the Orientals will not sell, then the power of eminent domain might be properly invoked. It is certainly as great a public use and benefit to rid ourselves of an unassimilable race, economically destructive to our own people, by buying their lands at full value as to condemn land for a public park for pleasure purposes or a railway right of way for transportation purposes. In every view, economic and patriotic, a higher purpose is subserved. In restoring the soil to the people, which is the foundation of every human benefit and enjoyment, the State will have vindicated its sovereignty and justified its existence.

SOVIET RUSSIA—1920

By BERTRAND RUSSELL in The Nation

I went to Russia believing myself a Communist: but—

(Professor Bertrand Russell of Cambridge University is a prominent British radical and pacifist. He strongly favored the Soviet regime in Russia—before he went there with the British Labor delegation. This article is longer than we usually care to print but its exceptional value constrained us to depart from our rule in that respect.—Editor.)

I. The Problem.

The attempt to form anything like a judicial estimate of the Bolsheviks is beset with difficulties. To begin with, one approaches them through a mist of myth and melodrama; their friends and their foes alike deal only in superlatives, treating them as angels or devils, not as ordinary human beings. But even when one has come to know their regime, one has still a difficult work of analysis to perform before one can arrive at what is specifically bolshevist. Much in their methods is merely Russian, and does not distinguish them from their compatriots of other parties. It is difficult to exaggerate the difference between a Russian and an Englishman. I am convinced that there is far more resemblance between Mr. Smillie and Mr. Winston Churchill than between the former and Lenin or the latter and Kolchak. If one is to judge of the Bolsheviks one must judge them in relation to the Russian people and the possible alternative governments of Russia. It is only in their international propaganda that the comparison of their ideas with those of Western Europe becomes decisive.

There is another point which is very necessary to remember in estimating what one sees. Russia was one of the nations that suffered defeat in the war; it is, therefore, more just to compare the state of affairs with what exists in Germany or Austria than with what exists in England or America. In both these respects I felt myself very inadequately equipped. I did not know Russia before the revolution, and I have not

seen Germany or Austria since the war. I hope, however, that the mere realization of the problem has helped me to avoid errors to which, as it seems to me, many English observers in Russia have been prone.

Before entering Russia, I had read a great deal of what has been written about bolshevism, both in praise and in blame; nevertheless I found both the theory and the practice of the Soviet government very different from what I had expected. In order that the reader may know how much weight to attach to my impressions, it will be well to begin with the circumstances of my journey.

I entered Soviet Russia on May 11 and recrossed the frontier on June 16. The Russian authorities admitted me only on the express condition that I should travel with the British labor delegation, a condition with which I was naturally very willing to comply, and which that delegation kindly allowed me to fulfil. We were conveyed from the frontier to Petrograd, as well as on subsequent journeys, in a special train de luxe covered with mottoes about the social revolution and the proletariat of all countries; we were received everywhere by regiments of soldiers, with the Internationale being played on the regimental band while civilians stood bareheaded and soldiers at the salute; congratulatory orations were made by local leaders and answered by prominent communists who accompanied us; the entrances to the carriages were guarded by magnificent Bashkir cavalymen in resplendent uniforms; in short, everything was done to make us feel like the Prince of Wales. Innumerable functions were arranged for us; banquets, public meetings and military reviews.

The assumption was that we had come to testify to the solidarity of British labor with Russian communism, and on that assumption the

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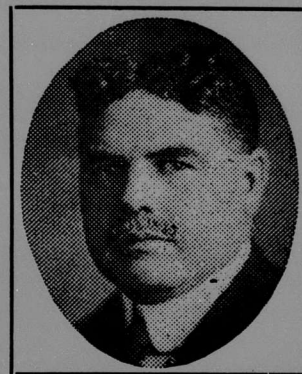
utmost possible use was made of us for bolshevist propaganda. We, on the other hand, desired to ascertain what we could of Russian conditions and Russian methods of government, which was impossible in the atmosphere of a royal progress. Hence arose an amicable contest, degenerating at times into a game of hide and seek; while they assured us how splendid the banquet or parade was going to be, we tried to explain how much we should prefer a quiet walk in the streets. I, not being a member of the delegation, felt less obligation than my companions did to attend propaganda meetings where one knew the speeches by heart beforehand. In this way I was able, by the help of neutral interpreters, mostly English or American, to have many conversations with casual people whom I met in the streets or on village greens, and to find out how the whole system appears to the ordinary non-political man and woman. The first five days we spent in Petrograd, the next eleven in Moscow. During this time we were living in daily contact with important men in the government, so that we learned the official point of view without difficulty. I saw also what I could of the intellectuals in both places. We were all allowed complete freedom to see politicians or opposition parties, and naturally made full use of this freedom. We saw Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries of different groups, and anarchists; we saw them without the presence of any Bolsheviks, and they spoke freely after they had overcome their initial fears. I had an hour's talk with Lenin, virtually *tete-a-tete*; I met Trotsky, though only in company; I spent a night in the country with Kamenev; and I saw a great deal of other men who, though less known outside Russia, are of considerable importance in the government.

At the end of our time in Moscow, we all felt a desire to see something of the country, and to get in touch with the peasants, since they form about 85 per cent of the population. The government showed the greatest kindness in meeting our wishes, and it was decided that we should travel down the Volga from Nijni Novgorod to Saratov, stopping at many places, large and small, and talking freely with the inhabitants. I found this part of the time extraordinarily instructive. I learned to know more than I should have thought possible of the life and out-

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look of peasants, village school-masters, small Jewish traders, and all kinds of people. Unfortunately my friend, Clifford Allen, fell ill, and my time was much taken up with him. This had, however, one good result, namely that I was able to go on with the boat to Astrakhan, as he was too ill to be moved off it. This not only gave me further knowledge of the country, but made me acquainted with Sverdlov, acting minister of transport, who was traveling on the boat to organize the movement of oil from Baku up the Volga, and who was one of the ablest as well as the kindest people whom I met in Russia.

There are a few historical facts which ought to be borne in mind. The Kerensky regime, which attempted to introduce freedom as we understand it, led to chaos and a general cessation of work; some sterner discipline was obviously necessary if the country was to be saved from utter destruction. Moreover, Kerensky was equally incapable of waging war and of making peace. He could not wage war because he could not preserve discipline, and he could not make peace because he was dependent upon the Allies. The Bolsheviks who were, as Lenin himself told me, still very unpopular so late as July, 1917, acquired support quickly in the following months because they were the only people who seemed able and willing to give land to the peasants and peace to the country. At first, after the October revolution, they were allied with the Left Social Revolutionaries, who, however, broke with them on the question of the Brest-Litovsk peace. The Left Social Revolutionaries took, and apparently still take, the position that Soviet Russia ought not, as a matter of principle, to make peace with any country that has not accomplished the social revolution; on this ground they have opposed the willingness of the government to make peace with the Entente.

English opinion goes astray through its obstinate determination to classify Russians as pro-German or pro-Entente. Because of Brest-Litovsk it falsely imagined that the Bolsheviks were pro-German. One might as well consider the Germans pro-Entente because of the treaty of Versailles. The Russians were beaten, and only those who refused to face facts imagined it possible to continue the war. These same

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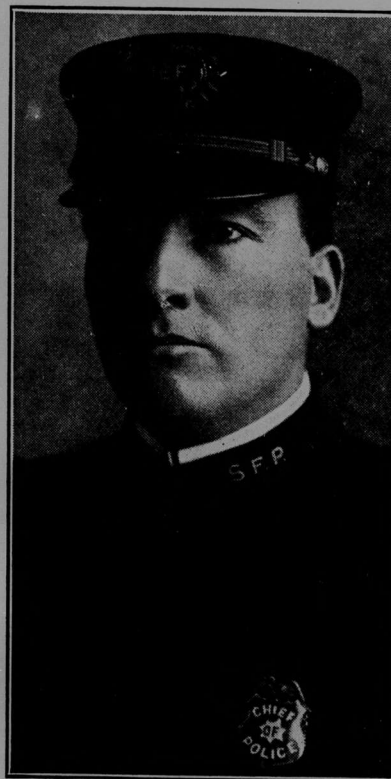
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people, in the same spirit, protested later against attempts to make peace with the Entente.

The Bolsheviks found themselves compelled to take severe measures against the Social Revolutionaries of the Right because they joined Kolchak, and of the Left because they killed Birbach. Since that time, opposition political parties have been illegal, with the exception of the Mensheviks. Even they were illegal for a short time, when one of their Central Committee (so at least the Bolsheviks assert) joined Denikin's cabinet. But they are now tolerated, and some of them are members of the Moscow Soviet.

After the Bolsheviks had made peace with Germany and given land to the peasants, they lost their popularity; for in Russia, as elsewhere, parties are popular on account of what they promise for the future, not on account of their performance in the past. It became clear that they could not give real peace, and that they would be compelled to remilitarize the country. They antagonized the peasants by the roughness of their methods of obtaining food for the towns, which seemed unavoidable so long as they had nothing but paper to offer in exchange for agricultural produce. Unpopularity drove them to greater repression and centralization, while the imperative need of production led them to adopt severe methods of industrial conscription. All this has produced an atmosphere which is disagreeable to a lover of freedom; but it has to be remembered that the lack of freedom is traceable to war and the blockade as its prime cause. Nothing but peace and a sufficient supply of manufactured goods can relieve the pressure from which the present evils result.

II. Bolshevik Theory.

One of the first things that I discovered after passing the red flag which marks the frontier of Soviet Russia, amid a desolate region of marsh, pine wood, and barbed wire entanglements, was the profound difference between the theories of actual Bolsheviks and the version of those theories current among advanced Socialists in this country. Friends of Russia here think of the dictatorship of the proletariat as merely a new form of representative government, in which only working

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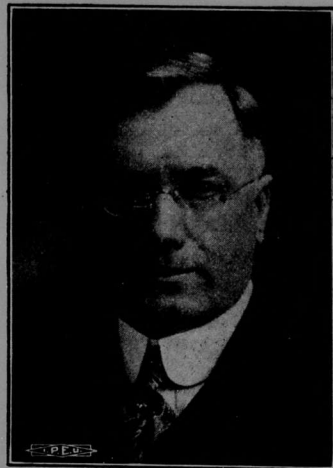
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men and women have votes and the constituencies are partly occupational, not geographical. They think that "proletariat" means "proletaria," but "dictatorship" does not quite mean "dictatorship." This is the opposite of the truth. When a Russian Communist speaks of dictatorship, he means the word literally, but when he speaks of proletariat, he uses the word in a Pickwickian sense. He means the "class-conscious" part of the proletariat, i. e., the Communist party. He includes people by no means proletarian (such as Lenin and Chickerin) who have the right opinion, and he excludes such wage earners as have not the right opinions, whom he classifies as lackeys of the bourgeoisie. The Communist who sincerely believes the party creed is convinced that private property is the root of all evil; he is so certain of this that he shrinks from no measures, however harsh, which seem necessary for constructing and preserving the communist state. He spares himself as little as he spares others. He works sixteen hours a day, and foregoes his Saturday half-holiday. He volunteers for any difficult or dangerous work which needs to be done, such as clearing away piles of infected corpses left by Kolchak or Denikin. In spite of his position of power and his control of supplies, he lives an austere life. He is not pursuing personal ends, but aiming at the creation of a new social order. The same motives, however, which make him austere make him also ruthless. Marx has taught that communism is fatally predestined to come about; this fits in with the Oriental traits in the Russian character, and produces a state of mind not unlike that of the early successors of Mahomet. Opposition is crushed without mercy, and without shrinking from the methods of the Czarist police, many of whom are still employed at their old work. Since all evils are due to private property, the evils of the bolshevist regime, while it has to fight private property, will automatically cease as soon as it has succeeded.

These views are the familiar consequences of fanatical belief. To an English mind they reinforce the conviction upon which the English life has been based ever since 1688, that kindness and tolerance are worth all the creeds in the world—a view which, it is true, we do not apply to other nations or to subject races.

In a very novel society, it is natural to seek for historical parallels. The baser side of the present Russian government is most nearly paralleled by the Directory in France, but on its better side it is closely analogous to the rule of Cromwell. The sincere Communists (and all the older members of the party have proved their sincerity by years of persecution) are not unlike the Puritan soldiers in their stern politico-moral purpose. Cromwell's dealings with parliament are not unlike Lenin's with the constituent assembly. Both, starting from a combination of democracy and religious faith, were driven to sacrifice democracy to religion enforced by military dictatorship. Both tried to compel their countries to live at a higher level of morality and effort than the population found tolerable. Life in modern Russia, as in Puritan England, is in many ways contrary to instinct. And if the Bolsheviki ultimately fall, it will be for the reason for which the Puritans fell—because there comes a point at which men feel that amusement and ease are worth more than all other goods put together.

Far closer than any actual historical parallel is the parallel of Plato's Republic. The Communist Party corresponds to the guardians; the

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soldiers have about the same status in both; there is in Russia an attempt to deal with family life more or less as Plato suggested. I suppose it may be assumed that every teacher of Plato throughout the world abhors bolshevism, and every Bolshevik regards Plato as an antiquated bourgeois. Nevertheless, the parallel is extraordinarily exact between Plato's Republic and the regime which the better Bolsheviks are endeavoring to create.

Bolshevism is internally aristocratic and externally militant. The Communists have all the good and bad traits of an aristocracy which is young and vital. They are courageous, energetic, capable of command, always ready to serve the state; on the other hand, they are dictatorial, lacking in ordinary consideration for the plebs, such as their servants, whom they overwork, or the people in the streets, whose lives they endanger by extraordinarily reckless motoring. They are practically the sole possessors of power, and they enjoy innumerable advantages in consequence. Most of them, though far from luxurious, have better food than other people. Only people of some political importance can obtain motor cars or telephones. Permits for railway journeys, for making purchases at the Soviet stores (where prices are about one-fiftieth of what they are in the market), for going to the theatre, and so on, are of course easier to obtain for the friends of those in power than for ordinary mortals. In a thousand ways the Communists have a life which is happier than that of the rest of the community. Above all, they are less exposed to the unwelcome attentions of the police and the extraordinary commission.

The communist theory of international affairs is exceedingly simple. The revolution foretold by Marx, which is to abolish capitalism throughout the world, happened to begin in Russia, though Marxian theory would seem to demand that it should begin in America. In countries where the revolution has not yet broken out, the sole duty of a communist is to hasten its advent. Agreements with capitalist states can only be makeshifts, and can never amount on either side to a sincere peace. No real good can come to any country without a bloody revolution; English labor men may fancy that a peaceful evolution is possible, but they will find their mistake. Lenin told me that he hopes to see a labor government in England, and would wish his supporters to work for it, but solely in order that the futility of parliamentarism may be conclusively demonstrated to the British working man. Nothing will do any real good except the arming of the proletariat and the disarming of the bourgeoisie. Those who preach anything else are social traitors or deluded fools.

For my part, after weighing this theory carefully, and after admitting the whole of its indictment of bourgeois capitalism, I find myself definitely and strongly opposed to it. The Third Internationale is an organization which exists to promote the class war and to hasten the advent of revolution everywhere. My objection is not that capitalism is less bad than the Bolsheviks believe, but that socialism is less good, at any rate in the form which can be brought about by war. The evils of war, especially of civil war, are certain and very great; the gains to be achieved by victory are problematical. In the course of a desperate struggle the heritage of civilization is likely to be lost, while hatred, suspicion and cruelty become normal in the relations of human beings. In order to succeed in war a concentration of power is necessary, and from concentration of power the very same evils flow as from capitalist

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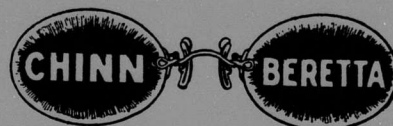


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concentration of wealth. For these reasons chiefly I cannot support my movement which aims at world revolution. The injury to civilization done by revolution in one country may be repaired by the influence of another in which there has been no revolution; but in a universal cataclysm civilization might go under for a thousand years. But while I cannot advocate world revolution, I cannot escape from the conclusion that the governments of the leading capitalist countries are doing everything to bring it about. Abuse of our power against Germany, Russia, and India (to say nothing of any other countries) may well bring about our downfall, and produce those very evils which the enemies of bolshevism most dread.

The true communist is thoroughly international. Lenin, for example, so far as I could judge, is not more concerned with the interests of Russia than with those of other countries: Russia is, at this moment, the protagonist of the social revolution, and as such valuable to the world, but Lenin would sacrifice Russia rather than the revolution if the alternative should ever arise. This is the orthodox attitude, and is no doubt genuine in many of the leaders. But nationalism is natural and instinctive; through pride in the revolution it grows again even in the breasts of communists. Through the Polish war, the Bolsheviki have acquired the support of national feeling and their position in the country has been immensely strengthened.

The only time I saw Trotzky was at the opera in Moscow. The British labor delegation were occupying what had been the Czar's box. After speaking with us in the ante-chamber, he stepped to the front of the box and stood with folded arms while the house cheered itself hoarse. Then he spoke a few sentences, short and sharp, with military precision, winding up by calling for "three cheers for our brave fellows at the front," to which the audience responded as a London audience would have responded in the autumn of 1914. Trotzky and the Red Army undoubtedly now have behind them a great body of nationalist sentiment. The reconquest of Asiatic Russia has even revived what is essentially an imperialist way of feeling, though this would be indignantly repudiated by many of those in whom I seemed to detect it. Experience of power is inevitably altering communist theories, and men who control a vast governmental machine can hardly have quite the same outlook on life as they had when they were hunted fugitives. If the Bolsheviki remain in power, it may be assumed that their communism will fade, and they will increasingly resemble any other Asiatic government—for example, our own government in India.

III. Communism and the Soviet Constitution.

Before I went to Russia, I imagined that I was going to see an interesting experiment in a new form of representative government. Everyone who is interested in Bolshevism knows the series of elections, from the village meeting to the All-Russian Soviet, by which the people's commissaries are supposed to derive their power. We are told that, by the recall, the occupational constituencies, and so on, a new and far more perfect machinery had been devised for ascertaining and registering the popular will. One of the things we hoped to study was the ques-



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tion whether the Soviet system is really superior to parliamentarism in this respect.

We were not able to make any such study because the Soviet system is moribund. No conceivable system of free election would give majorities to the Communists, in either town or country. Various methods are therefore adopted for giving the victory to the government candidates. In the first place, the voting is by show of hands, so that all who vote against the government are marked men. In the second place, no candidate who is not a Communist can have any printing done, the printing works being all in the hands of the state. In the third place, he cannot address any meetings, because the halls all belong to the state. The whole of the press is, of course, official; no independent daily is permitted. In spite of all these obstacles, the Mensheviks have succeeded in winning about 40 seats out of 1500 in the Moscow Soviet by being known in certain large factories where the electoral campaign could be conducted by word of mouth.

But although the Moscow Soviet is nominally sovereign in Moscow, it is really only a body of electors who choose the executive committee of forty, out of which, in turn, is chosen the Presidium, consisting of nine men who meet daily and have all the power. The Moscow Soviet as a whole is supposed to meet once a week, but did not meet while we were in Moscow. The Presidium, on the contrary, meets daily. Of course, it is easy for the government to exercise pressure over the election of the executive committee, and again over the election of the Presidium. It must be remembered that effective protest is impossible, owing to the absolutely complete suppression of free speech and free press. The result is that the Presidium of the Moscow Soviet consists only of orthodox Communists.

Kamenev, the President of the Moscow Soviet, informed us that the recall is very frequently employed; he said that in Moscow there are, on an average, thirty recalls a month. I asked him what were the principal reasons for the recall, and he mentioned four: drink, going to the front (and being, therefore, incapable of performing the duties), change of politics on the part of the electors, and failure to make a report to the electors once a fortnight, which all members of the Soviet are expected to do. From what I saw of Russians, I should judge that almost all would be guilty in this last respect. It is evident that the recall affords opportunities for government pressure, but I had no chance of finding out whether it is used for this purpose.

In country districts the method employed is somewhat different. It is impossible to insure that the village Soviet shall consist of Communists because, as a rule, at any rate in the villages I saw, there are no Communists. But when I asked in the villages how they were represented on the Volost (the next larger area) or the Gubernia (the area next above the Volost), I was met always with the reply that they were not represented at all. I could not verify this, and it is probably an over-statement, but all concurred in the assertion that if they elected a non-Communist representative he could not obtain a pass on the railway and, therefore, could not attend the Volost or Gubernia Soviet. I saw a meeting of the Gubernia Soviet of Saratov. The representation is so arranged that the town workers have an enormous preponderance over the surrounding peasants; but even allowing for this, the proportion of

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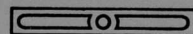


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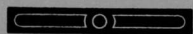
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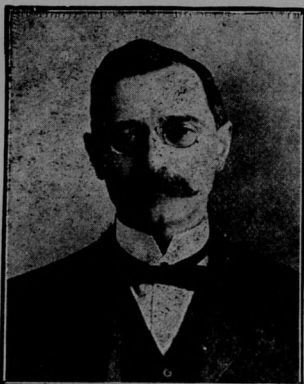
peasants seemed astonishingly small for the center of a very important agricultural area.

The All-Russian Soviet, which is constitutionally the supreme body, to which the People's Commissars are responsible, meets seldom and has become increasingly formal. Its sole function at present, so far as I could discover, is to ratify, without discussion, previous decisions of the Communist Party on matters (especially concerning foreign policy) upon which the constitution requires its decision.

All real power is in the hands of the Communist Party, who number about 600,000 in a population of about 120,000,000. I never came across a communist by chance; the people whom I met in the streets or in the villages, when I could get into conversation with them, almost invariably said they were of no party. The only other answer I ever had was from some of the peasants, who openly stated that they were Czarists. It must be said that the peasants' reasons for disliking the Bolsheviks are very inadequate. It is said—and all I saw confirmed the assertion—that the peasants are better off than they ever were before. I saw no one—man, woman, or child—who looked underfed in the villages. The big landowners are dispossessed, and the peasants have profited. But the towns and the army still need nourishing, and the government has nothing to give the peasants in return for food except paper, which the peasants resent having to take. It is a singular fact that Czarist rubles are worth ten times as much as Soviet rubles, and are much commoner in the country. Although they are illegal, pocket-books full of them are openly displayed in the market places. I do not think it should be inferred that the peasants expect a Czarist restoration; they are merely actuated by custom and dislike of novelty. They have never heard of the blockade; many hardly know that there is a war with Poland; consequently they cannot understand why the government is unable to give them the clothes and agricultural implements that they need. Having got their land, and being ignorant of affairs outside of their own neighborhood, they wish their own village to be independent, and would resent the demands of any government whatever.

Within the Communist Party there are, of course, as always in a bureaucracy, different factions, though hitherto the external pressure has prevented disunion. It seemed to me that the personnel of the bureaucracy could be divided into three classes. There are first the old revolutionists, tested by years of persecution. These men have most of the highest posts. Prison and exile have made them tough and fanatical and rather out of touch with their own country. They are honest men, with a profound belief that communism will regenerate the world. They think themselves utterly free from sentiment, but in fact they are sentimental about communism and about the regime that they are creating; they cannot face the fact that what they are creating is not communism, and that communism is anathema to the peasant, who wants his own land and nothing else. They are pitiless in punishing corruption or drunkenness when they find either among officials; but they have built up a system in which the temptations to petty corruption are tremendous, and their own materialistic theory should persuade them that under such a system corruption must be rampant.

The second class in the bureaucracy, among whom are to be found most of the men occupying political posts just below the top, consists of young arrivistes who are enthusiastic Bolsheviks because of the material success of bolshevism. It is these men who make the regime so odious in many ways. With them must be reckoned the army of police-



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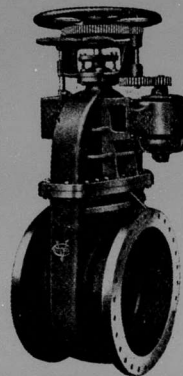
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men, spies, and secret agents, largely inherited from the Czarist times, who make their profit out of the fact that no one can live except by breaking the law. This aspect of bolshevism is exemplified by the Extraordinary Commission, a body practically independent of the government, possessing its own regiments, which are better fed than the Red Army. This body has the power of imprisoning any man or woman without trial on such charges as speculation or counter-revolutionary activity. It has shot thousands without trial, and though now it has nominally lost the power of inflicting the death penalty, it is by no means certain that it has altogether lost it in fact. It has spies everywhere, and ordinary mortals live in terror of it.

The third class in the bureaucracy consists of men who are not ardent communists, who have rallied to the government since it has proved itself stable, and who work for it either out of patriotism or because they enjoy the opportunity of developing their ideas freely without the obstacle of traditional institutions. Among this class are to be found men of the type of the successful business man, men with the same sort of ability as is found in the American self-made trust magnate, but working for success and power, not for money. There is no doubt that the Bolsheviks are successfully solving the problem of enlisting this kind of ability in the public service without permitting it to amass wealth as it does in capitalist communities. This is perhaps their greatest success so far outside the domain of war. It makes it possible to suppose that, if Russia is allowed to have peace, an amazing industrial development may take place, making Russia a rival of the United States. The Bolsheviks are industrialists in all their aims; they love everything in modern industry except the excessive rewards of the capitalists. And the harsh discipline to which they are subjecting the workers is calculated, if anything can, to give them the habits of industry and honesty which have hitherto been lacking, and which alone prevent Russia from being one of the foremost industrial countries.

IV. Lenin and Trotzky and Gorky.

Soon after my arrival in Moscow I had an hour's conversation with Lenin in English, which he speaks fairly well. An interpreter was present, but his services were scarcely required. Lenin's room is very bare; it contains a big desk, some maps on the walls, two book-cases, and one comfortable chair for visitors in addition to two or three hard chairs. It is obvious that he has no love for luxury or even comfort. He is very friendly and apparently simple, entirely without a trace of hauteur. If one met him without knowing who he was, one would not guess that he is possessed of great power or even that he is in any way eminent. I have never met a personage so destitute of self-importance. He looks at his visitors very closely, and screws up one eye, which seems to increase alarmingly the penetrating power of the other. He laughs a great deal; at first his laugh seems merely friendly and jolly, but gradually I came to feel it rather grim. He is dictatorial, calm, incapable of fear, extraordinarily devoid of self-seeking, an embodied theory. The materialistic conception of history, one feels, is his life-blood. He resembles a professor in his desire to have the theory understood and in his fury with those who misunderstand or disagree, as also in his love of expounding, I got the impression that he despises a great many people and is an intellectual aristocrat.

The first question I asked him was as to how far he recognized the peculiarity of English economic and political conditions. I was anxious to know whether advocacy of violent revolution is an indispensable

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condition of joining the Third Internationale, although I did not put this question directly because others were asking it officially. His answer was unsatisfactory to me. He admitted that there is little chance of revolution in England now, and that the working man is not yet disgusted with parliamentary government. But he hopes that this result may be brought about by a labor ministry. He thinks that if Mr. Henderson, for instance, were to become prime minister, nothing of importance would be done; organized labor would then, so he hopes and believes, turn to revolution. On this ground he wishes his supporters in this country to do everything in their power to secure a labor majority in parliament; he does not advocate abstention from parliamentary contests, but participation with a view to making parliament obviously contemptible. The reasons which make attempts at violent revolution seem to most of us both improbable and undesirable in this country carry no weight with him, and seem to him mere bourgeois prejudices. When I suggested that whatever is possible in England can be achieved without bloodshed, he waved aside the suggestion as fantastic. I got little impression of knowledge or psychological imagination as regards Great Britain. Indeed, the whole tendency of Marxism is against psychological imagination since it attributes everything in politics to purely material causes.

I asked him next whether he thought it possible to establish communism firmly and fully in a country containing such a large majority of peasants. He admitted that it was difficult, and laughed over the exchange the peasant is compelled to make of food for paper; the worthlessness of Russian paper struck him as comic. But he said—what is no doubt true—that things will right themselves when there are goods to offer to the peasant. For this he looks partly to electrification in industry, which, he says, is a technical necessity in Russia but will take ten years to complete. He spoke with enthusiasm, as they all do, of the great scheme for generating electrical power by means of peat. Of course he looks to the raising of the blockade as the only radical cure; but he was not very hopeful of this being achieved thoroughly or permanently except through revolutions in other countries. Peace between Bolshevik Russia and capitalist countries, he said, must always be insecure; the Entente might be led by weariness and mutual dissensions to conclude peace, but he felt convinced that the peace would be of brief duration. I found in him, as in almost all leading Communists, much less eagerness than existed on our side for peace and the raising of the blockade. He believes that nothing of real value can be achieved except through world revolution and the abolition of capitalism; I felt that he regarded the resumption of trade with capitalist countries as a mere palliative of doubtful value.

He described the division between rich and poor peasants, and the government propaganda among the latter against the former, leading to acts of violence which he seemed to find amusing. He spoke as though the dictatorship over the peasant would have to continue a long time, because of the peasant's desire for free trade. He said he knew from statistics (what I can well believe) that the peasants have had more to eat these last two years than they ever had before, "and yet they are against us," he added a little wistfully. I asked him what to reply to critics who say that in the country he has merely created peasant pro-

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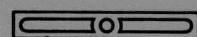
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prietorship, not communism; he replied that that is not quite the truth, but he did not say what the truth is.

The last question I asked him was whether resumption of trade with capitalist countries, if it took place, would not create centers of capitalist influence and make the preservation of communism more difficult. It had seemed to me that the more ardent Communists might well dread commercial intercourse with the outer world as leading to an infiltration of heresy and making the rigidity of the present system almost impossible. I wished to know whether he had such a feeling. He admitted that trade would create difficulties, but said that they would be less than those of the war. He said that two years ago neither he nor his colleagues thought they could survive against the hostility of the world. He attributes their survival to the jealousies and divergent interests of the different capitalist nations. Also to the power of bolshevik propaganda. He said the Germans had laughed when the Bolsheviks proposed to combat guns with leaflets, but that the event had proved the leaflets quite as powerful. I do not think he recognizes that the Labor and Socialist parties have had any part in the matter. He does not seem to know that the attitude of British labor has done a great deal to make a first-class war against Russia impossible, since it has confined the government to what could be done in a hole-and-corner way, and denied without a too blatant mendacity.

He thoroughly enjoys the attacks of Lord Northcliffe, to whom he wishes to send a medal for Bolshevik propaganda. Accusations of spoliation, he remarked, may shock the bourgeois, but have an opposite effect upon the proletariat.

I think if I had met him without knowing who he was, I should not have guessed that he was a great man; he struck me as too opinionated and narrowly orthodox. His strength comes, I imagine, from his honesty, courage, and unwavering faith—religious faith in the Marxian gospel, which takes the place of the Christian martyr's hopes of Paradise, except that it is less egotistical. He has as little love of liberty as the Christians who suffered under Diocletian and retaliated when they acquired power. Perhaps love of liberty is incompatible with wholehearted belief in a panacea for all human ills. If so, I cannot but rejoice in the skeptical temper of the Western world. I went to Russia believing myself a communist; but contact with those who have no doubts has intensified a thousand-fold my own doubts, not only of communism, but of every creed so firmly held that for its sake men are willing to inflict widespread misery.

Trotsky, whom the Communists do not by any means regard as Lenin's equal, made more impression upon me from the point of view of intelligence and personality, though not of character. I saw too little of him, however, to have more than a very superficial impression. He has bright eyes, military bearing, lightning intelligence, and magnetic personality. He is very good-looking, with admirable wavy hair; one feels he would be irresistible to women. I felt in him a vein of gay humor so long as he was not crossed in any way. I thought, perhaps wrongly, that his vanity was even greater than his love of power—the sort of vanity that one associates with an artist or actor. The comparison with Napoleon was forced upon me. But I had no means of estimating the strength of his communist conviction, which may be very sincere and profound.

An extraordinary contrast to both these men was Gorky, with whom I had a brief interview in Petrograd. He was in bed, apparently dying

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and obviously heartbroken. He begged me, in anything I might say about Russia, always to emphasize what Russia has suffered. He supports the government—as I should if I were a Russian—not because he thinks it faultless but because the possible alternatives are worse. One felt in him a love of the Russian people which makes their present martyrdom almost unbearable, and prevents the fanatical faith by which the pure Marxians are upheld. I felt him the most lovable, and to me the most sympathetic, of all the Russians I saw. I wished for more knowledge of his outlook, but he spoke with difficulty and was constantly interrupted by terrible fits of coughing, so I could not stay. All the intellectuals whom I met—a class who have suffered terribly—expressed their gratitude to him for what he has done on their behalf. The materialistic conception of history is all very well, but some care for the higher things of civilization is a relief. The Bolsheviki are sometimes said to have done great things for art, but I could not discover that they had done more than preserve something of what existed before. When I questioned one of them on the subject, he grew impatient, and said: "We haven't time for a new art any more than for a new religion." Unavoidably, the atmosphere is one in which art cannot flourish, because art is anarchic and resistant to organization. Gorky has done all that one man could to preserve the intellectual and artistic life of Russia. But he is dying, and perhaps it is dying, too.

V. The International Situation.

In the course of these articles I have had occasion to mention disagreeable features of the Bolshevik regime. But it must always be remembered that these are chiefly due to the fact that the industrial life of Russia has been paralyzed except as ministering to the wants of the army, and that the government has had to wage a bitter and doubtful civil and external war, involving the constant menace of domestic enemies. Harshness, espionage, and a curtailment of liberty result unavoidably from these difficulties. I have no doubt whatever that the sole cure for the evils from which Russia is suffering is peace and trade. Peace and trade would put an end to the hostility of the peasants, and would at once enable the government to depend upon popularity rather than force. The character of the government would alter rapidly under such conditions. Industrial conscription, which is now rigidly enforced, would become unnecessary. Those who desire a more liberal spirit would be able to make their voices heard without the feeling that they were assisting reaction and the national enemies. The food difficulties

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would cease, and with them the need for an autocratic system in the towns.

It must not be assumed, as is common with opponents of bolshevism, that any other government could easily be established in Russia. I think everyone who has been in Russia recently is convinced that the existing government is stable. It may undergo internal developments, and might easily, but for Lenin, become a Bonapartist military autocracy. But this would be a change from within—not perhaps a very great change—and would probably do little to alter the economic system. From what I saw of the Russian character and the opposition parties, I became persuaded that Russia is not ready for any form of democracy, and needs a strong government. The Bolsheviks represent themselves as the allies of western advanced socialism, and from this point of view they are open to grave criticism. For their international program there is, to my mind, nothing to be said. But as a national government, stripped of their camouflage, regarded as the successors of Peter the Great, they are performing a necessary though unamiable task. They are introducing, as far as they can, American efficiency among a lazy and undisciplined population. They are preparing to develop the natural resources of their country by the methods of state socialism, for which, in Russia, there is much to be said. In the army they are abolishing illiteracy, and if they had peace they would do great things for education everywhere.

But if we continue to refuse peace and trade, I do not think the Bolsheviks will go under. Russia will endure great hardships in the years to come as before. But the Russians are inured to misery as no Western nation is; they can live and work under conditions which we should find intolerable. The government will be driven more and more, from mere self-preservation, into a policy of imperialism. The Entente has been doing everything to expose Germany to a Russian invasion of arms and leaflets, by allowing Poland to engage in a disastrous war and compelling Germany to disarm. All Asia lies open to Bolshevik ambitions. Almost the whole of the former Russian Empire in Asia is quite firmly in their grasp. Trains are running at a reasonable speed to Turkestan, and I saw cotton from there being loaded on to Volga steamers. In Persia and Turkey powerful revolts are taking place with Bolshevik support. It is only a question of a few years before India will be in touch with the Red Army. If we continue to antagonize

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the Bolsheviks, I do not see what force exists that can prevent them from acquiring the whole of Asia within ten years.

The Russian government is not imperialistic in spirit, and would prefer peace to conquest. The country is weary of war and denuded of goods. But if the Western powers insist upon war, another spirit, which is already beginning to show itself, will become dominant. Conquest will be the only alternative to submission. Asiatic conquest will not be difficult. But for us, from the imperialist standpoint, it will mean utter ruin. And for the continent it will mean revolutions, civil wars, economic cataclysms. The policy of crushing bolshevism by force was always foolish and criminal; it has now become impossible and fraught with disaster. Our own government, it would seem, has begun to realize the dangers; let us hope it realizes them sufficiently to enforce its view against opposition. If not, the Great War (as we still call it) will have been only the prelude to a conflagration compared with which it will seem to have been a mere frontier skirmish.

Convinced Bolsheviks and their supporters in Western Europe will face this prospect calmly, since they believe that in the end the communist system will be established, and will bring a cure for all the evils from which the world is suffering. I do not find it possible to believe this comforting doctrine. I share the belief in communism, but not in the sort which concentrates immense power in the hands of a few men. A just distribution of power seems to me just as important as a just distribution of material goods. All experience shows that very few men can be long trusted with great power. If Russia wins peace, the liberal ideas of freedom and popular government which the war has put into the background will again become prominent, and it may be possible to restore to the workers some of that control over industry which they had in the early days of bolshevism. But if continued war necessitates continued dictatorship it must happen, sooner or later, that the rulers will use their privileged political position to secure for themselves a privileged economic position. This has already happened to a certain extent; highly-placed Communists have considerably more comfort than the mass of the population. But what has happened hitherto in this way is, on the whole, justifiable as being necessary for the health and efficiency of members of the government, who certainly work much longer hours and at much higher pressure than the governments of the Western Powers.

This, however, is hardly likely to be a permanent state of affairs. As yet, the men in high places in Russia are mostly very ardent Communists, who in former times showed a readiness to sacrifice everything

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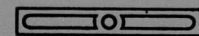
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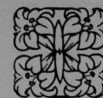
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for their beliefs. These men will obviously in time give place to others less devoted, more opportunist, who will regard the situation, as most practical politicians do, from the standpoint of practical advantage. Such men, if they could find means of carrying the army with them, would have little difficulty in decreeing large salaries and special privileges for the governing aristocracy. With success would come increased opportunities of corruption, and of exploitation of undeveloped countries. I cannot believe that these temptations would be permanently resisted.

The Bolsheviks have a complete theory, embodied in the Third Internationale, according to which communism is to be established everywhere, as it has been in Russia, by the dictatorship of an energetic minority. The theory is recommended by the impossibility of converting a majority while all the great weapons of propaganda—especially education and the press—are in the hands of the capitalists. This argument is a powerful one, and it certainly shows the extreme difficulty of bring-

ing about a communist state by peaceful means. Where it fails is in the attempt to show that communism, in any stable or desirable form, can be brought about by the dictatorship of a minority. In political theory it is necessary to take account of what may be called psychological dynamics; I mean the changes in men's aims and beliefs that are brought about by changed circumstances. Almost all men, when they have acquired the habit of wielding great power, find it so delightful that they cannot voluntarily abandon it. If they are men who were originally disinterested, they will persuade themselves that their power is still necessary in the public interest; but, whether with or without self-deception, they will cling to power until they are dispossessed by force. This is bound to happen to the communist minority when, as in Russia, it acquires a military dictatorship originally intended to be temporary. Given a few energetic and able men who have a great empire and a great army to play with, it is psychologically all but certain that they will find some excuse for not sharing their power more than they can help. And those who have most power always can, if they choose,

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also have most wealth. Sooner or later they will so choose, and the expected gains of communism will be lost.

For these reasons, as well as for reasons of pacifism, I cannot accept the bolshevist philosophy or believe in abandoning the slower methods of democracy and popular agitation.

Russia is a backward country, not yet ready for the methods of equal co-operation which the West is seeking to substitute for arbitrary power in politics and industry. In Russia, the methods of the Bolsheviki are probably more or less unavoidable; at any rate, I am not prepared to criticize them in their broad lines. But they are not the methods appropriate to more advanced countries, and our Socialists will be unnecessarily retrograde if they allow the prestige of the Bolsheviki to lead them into slavish imitation. It will be a far less excusable error in our reactionaries if, by their unteachableness, they compel the adoption of violent methods. We have a heritage of civilization and mutual tolerance which is important to ourselves and to the world. Life in Russia has always been fierce and cruel to a far greater degree than with us, and out of the war has come a danger that this fierceness and cruelty may become universal. I have hopes that in England this may be avoided through the moderation of both sides. But it is essential to a happy issue that melodrama should no longer determine our views of the Bolsheviki; they are neither angels to be worshiped nor devils to be exterminated, but merely bold and able men attempting, with great skill what is an almost impossible task.

VI. Town and Country.

The problem of inducing the peasants to feed the towns is one which Russia shares with Central Europe, and from what one hears Russia has been less unsuccessful than some other countries in dealing with this problem. For the Soviet government the problem is mainly concentrated in Moscow and Petrograd; the other towns are not very large, and are mostly in the center of rich agricultural districts. It is true that in the north even the rural population normally depends upon food from more southerly districts, but the northern population is small. It is commonly said that the problem of feeding Moscow and Petrograd is a transport problem, but I think this is only partially true. There is, of course, a grave deficiency of rolling-stock, especially of locomotives in good repair. But Moscow is surrounded by very good land. In the course of a day's motoring in the neighborhood I saw enough cows to supply milk to the whole child population of Moscow, although what I had come to see was children's sanatoria, not farms. All kinds of food can be bought in the market at high prices. I traveled over a considerable extent of Russian railways, and saw a fair number of good trains. For all these reasons I feel convinced that the share of the transport problem in the food difficulties has been exaggerated. Of course transport plays a larger part in the shortage in Petrograd than in Moscow, because food comes mainly from south of Moscow. In Petrograd, most of the people one sees in the streets show obvious signs of underfeeding. In Moscow the visible signs are much less frequent, but there is no doubt that underfeeding, though not actual starvation, is nearly universal.

The government supplies rations to every one who works in the towns at a very low fixed price. The official theory is that the government has a monopoly of the food and that the rations are not sufficient, and that they are only a portion of the food supply of Moscow. Moreover, people complain, I do not know how truly, that the rations are delivered irregularly; some say, about every other day. Under these circumstances, almost everybody, rich or poor, buys food in the market, where

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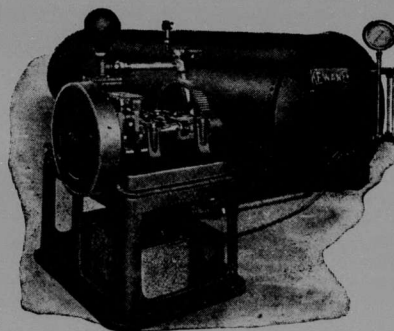
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it costs about fifty times the fixed government price. A pound of butter costs about a month's wages. In order to be able to afford extra food, people adopt various expedients. Some do additional work at extra rates after their official day's work is over. For, though there is supposed to be, by law, an eight-hour day, the wage paid for it is not a living wage, and there is nothing to prevent a man from undertaking other work in his spare time. But the usual resource is what is called "speculation," i. e., buying and selling. Some person formerly rich sells clothes or furniture or jewelry in return for food; the buyer sells again at an enhanced price, and so on through perhaps twenty hands, until a final purchaser is found in some well-to-do peasant or nouveau riche speculator. Again, most people have relations in the country whom they visit from time to time, bringing back with them great bags of flour. It is illegal for private persons to bring food into Moscow and the trains are searched; but by corruption and cunning experienced people can elude the search. The food market is illegal and is raided occasionally, but as a rule it is winked at. Thus the attempt to suppress private commerce has resulted in an amount of buying and selling which far exceeds what happens in capitalist countries. It takes up a great deal of time that might be more profitably employed; and, being illegal, it places practically the whole population of Moscow at the mercy of the police. Moreover, it depends largely upon the stores of goods belonging to those who were formerly rich, and when these are expended the whole system must collapse unless industry has meanwhile been re-established on a sound basis.

It is clear that the state of affairs is unsatisfactory, but, from the government's point of view, it is not easy to see what ought to be done. The urban and industrial population is mainly concerned in carrying on the work of government and supplying munitions to the army. These are very necessary tasks, the cost of which ought to be defrayed out of taxation. A moderate tax in kind on the peasants would easily feed Moscow and Petrograd. But the peasants take no interest in war or government. Russia is so vast that invasion of one part does not touch another part; and the peasants are too ignorant to have any national consciousness such as one takes for granted in England or France or Germany. The peasants will not willingly part with a portion of their produce merely for purposes of national defense, but only for the goods they need—clothes, agricultural implements, etc.—which the government, owing to the war and the blockade, is not in a position to supply.

When the food shortage was at its worst, the government antagonized the peasants by forced requisitions, carried out with great harshness by the Red army. This method has been abandoned; but the peasants still part unwillingly with their food, as is natural in view of the uselessness of paper and the enormously higher prices offered by private buyers.

The food problem is the main cause of popular opposition to the Bolsheviks, yet I cannot see how any popular policy could have been adopted. The Bolsheviks are disliked by the peasants because they take so much food; they are disliked in the towns because they take so little. What the peasants want is what is called free trade, i. e., de-control of agricultural produce. If this policy were adopted the towns would be faced by utter starvation, not merely by hunger and hardship. It is an entire misconception to suppose that the peasants cherish any hostility to the Entente. The Daily News of July 13, in an otherwise excellent leading article, speaks of "the growing hatred of the Russian peasant, who is neither a Communist nor a Bolshevik, for the Allies generally

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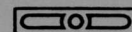
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and this country in particular." The typical Russian peasant has never heard of the Allies or of this country; he does not know that there is a blockade; all he knows is that he used to have six cows, but the government reduced him to one for the sake of poorer peasants, and that it takes his corn (except what is needed for his own family) at a very low price. The reasons for these actions do not interest him, since his horizon is bounded by his own village. To a remarkable extent each village is an independent unit. So long as the government obtains the food and soldiers that it requires it does not interfere, and leaves untouched the old village communism, which is extraordinarily unlike bolshevism and entirely dependent upon a very primitive stag of culture.

The government represents the interests of the urban and industrial population, and is, as it were, encamped amid a peasant nation with whom its relations are rather diplomatic and military than governmental in the ordinary sense. The economic situation, as in Central Europe, is favorable to the country and unfavorable to the towns. If Russia were governed democratically, according to the will of the majority, the inhabitants of Moscow and Petrograd would die of starvation. As it is, Moscow and Petrograd just manage to live by having the whole civil and military power of the state devoted to their needs. Russia affords the curious spectacle of a cast and powerful empire, prosperous at the periphery, but faced with dire want at the center. Those who have least prosperity have most power; and it is only through their excess of power that they are enabled to live at all. The situation is due at bottom to two facts: that almost the whole industrial energy of the population has had to be devoted to war, and that the peasants do not appreciate the importance of the war or the fact of the blockade.

It is futile to blame the Bolsheviki for an unpleasant and difficult situation which it has been impossible for them to avoid. Their problem is only soluble in one of two ways: by the cessation of the war and the blockade, which would enable them to supply the peasants with the goods they need in exchange for food; or by the gradual development of an independent Russian industry. This latter method would be slow and would involve terrible hardships, but some of the ablest men in the government believe it to be possible if peace cannot be achieved. If we force this method upon Russia by the refusal of peace and trade, we shall forfeit the only inducement we can hold out for friendly relations; we shall render the Soviet State unassailable and completely free to pursue the policy of promoting revolution everywhere.

A striking development in the movement to obtain better conditions for children is described in the pamphlet just issued by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, entitled "State Commissions for the Study and Revision of Child Welfare Laws."

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Labor Day and Labor Problems

By E. J. STACK, Ex-Secretary Oregon State Federation of Labor.

It is doubtful if a Labor Day has dawned in the history of recent years when there was more uncertainty as to the future of civilization. Great responsibilities rest upon all the citizens of this country. As a people we have the most burdensome obligations; great war debts must be paid, and there are but two ways of paying debts—more production to increase income and greater thrift in laying out.

There are many conflicting ideas among the organized workers regarding thrift. In fact there are distinct schools of thought representing extreme views as to saving. On the one hand we have a group of thinkers who contend that labor must find the solution of its problems not in saving but in spending. This group reasons that higher standards may be maintained by spending and demanding of industries still higher standards, thus increasing to the wage worker his share in production. The other extreme is the under-paid worker, barely living from hand to mouth, attempting to save by denying himself and his family comforts and even necessities of life, sending his children to school ill nourished and unfit for study, and finally sending them to work in the factories at the earliest possible age, greatly handicapped physically and mentally, as a result of this unwise policy of thrift. These groups represent the extremes of thought.

The thrift program of the United States Government Savings Organization is to take a middle course. It teaches saving first and spending afterwards. How many of us know that we are handicapped in buying even the necessities of life because we usually buy in small amounts, paying an extra 10 per cent and 15 per cent on commodities, due to no other reason than that we have not the cash in hand to make larger purchases. By saving first we can eliminate that condition.

The thrift policy advocated by the Government Savings Organization is one that does not make miserable the life of the individual by

lowering the nation's standard of living and consequently bringing stagnation to industry. It is a policy of thrift which permits the maintaining of high standards of living without materially reducing production, because it teaches the citizens of this country to discriminate in buying, and none will deny that discriminate buying is the essence of thrift. It is easier to maintain the high standards if a little is put by each day, each week or each month. A bank account adds to one's economic independence. It makes one self-reliant, dependable and more secure in any emergency.

The government must continue to borrow large sums to finance its post-war obligations. There are but two sources from which it can borrow—from the people indirectly through the financial institutions of the country or from the people directly through the government's loan institutions. If the government can borrow directly from all the people it pays interest in return to all the people. It follows therefore

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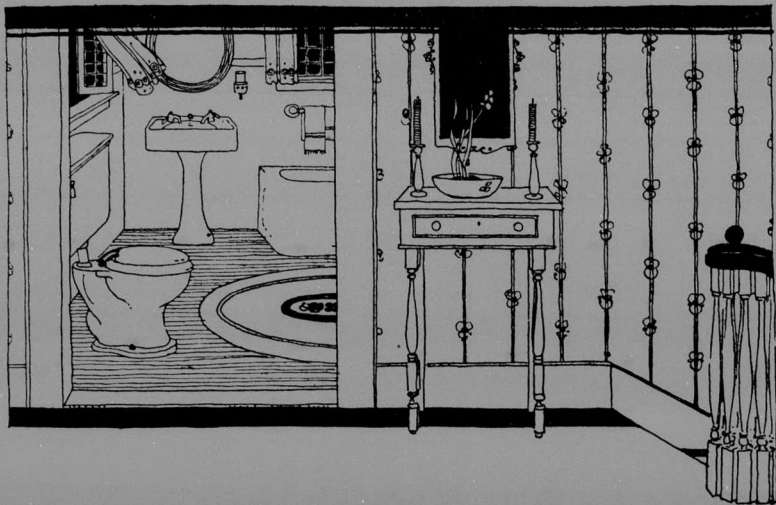
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that the most logical method of saving is in Thrift Stamps, War Savings Stamps and Treasury Certificates, because through the purchase of these Treasury securities we lend directly to ourselves and pay interest directly to ourselves.

By long experience as an active member the writer has learned some valuable lessons, the most striking of which is that there is very little difference in human nature inside or outside of the labor movement. We all have our faults, but so far as our fiscal affairs are concerned our greatest fault is carelessness. I am sure that nearly everyone will agree with me that the thing most needed in groups of organized workers, and those who are unorganized, is more and more education. If it is agreed that education is the most essential element in our progress, why, with our free school system, is it that so few of the boys and girls of this country attend school beyond the elementary grades?

Trade unionists believe, and it is generally conceded to be true, that most of the children who leave school do so from necessity. They are compelled to start early to help earn the living. The immediate causes of children leaving school are unemployment for the adults in the family and low purchasing power of wages received. But back of these immediate causes lie the ones which contribute most of all to the condition which finds the children in the factories and workshops instead of the schools—lack of thrift, lack of understanding of values, carelessness on the part of parents to look after the future of the children. It is interesting to know that carefully compiled statistics prove beyond a doubt that the better educated children are those of the thrifty families.

Therefore it is worth while on Labor Day of this year for each and every member of the trade union movement to ponder awhile on the question of saving. After having given some thought to the question of saving, an investigation should be made as to the method of saving.

Labor Day to the members of the trade unions of this country should mean a great deal more than merely a holiday dedicated to American working people. It is often said by leading men in our movement that on Labor Day we pause to take stock of the growth and development of the labor movement of the preceding year, and to lay plans for the coming year. This is no doubt true, and with each succeeding Labor Day a review of the year just closed brings new hope and a renewed energy to work out the problems of the future.

One of the most serious problems that lies before us in the uncertain future is that of providing for ourselves and our families. So it will stand us well in hand to avail ourselves of the opportunity to set aside a regular percentage of our earnings. Wherever representative groups of labor have met in the recent past, resolutions of endorsement have been passed commending to the wage earners of this country the Government Savings Organization, recommending the use of the Thrift Stamp, the War Savings Stamp and the Treasury Savings Certificate as the safest and most convenient method of saving.

I have known several men who may be recognized in days to come as men of genius, and they were all plodders, hard-working, intent men. Genius is known by its works; genius without works is a blind faith, a dumb oracle. But meritorious works are the result of time and labor, and can not be accomplished by intention or by a wish. Every great work is the result of time, of vast preparatory training. Facility comes by labor.—George Ross.

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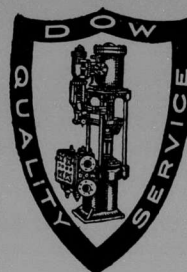
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THE FREEDOM PARTY PLATFORM THE PARTY ORGANIZED TO ABOLISH PRIVILEGE

By JOHN E. BENNETT
(Continued.)

Why the Price of Some Lands Fall in the Presence of Rising Commodity Prices.

As the action of the Centripetal Trend is to draw lesser farm holdings into larger holdings, ultimately arranging the agricultural industry into two groups—the great manorial estates, conducted by managers for absentee owners who handle hired labor on one hand, and on the other a congeries of tenants—a return to the metayer system of the old world, so in the region of urban land ownership the Trend acts with the same centralizing power; that is to say: the marginal lot owner is constantly being squeezed out and flung away, his property being absorbed by the larger owner. We note this in the increasing number, proportionate to population, of great estates owning large buildings, houses and lots, conducted by hired managers for the benefit of the owning families, a phenomenon observed in all cities.

This action of the Trend produces a perplexity of the public mind upon the whole sociological subject. One would say: "It cannot be true that the cause of the entire dislocation of society is that land constantly steps up in value and price, whereby in consonance all prices in like manner rise, since in San Francisco today there are many lots which in this year of 1920 could be bought for less sums than they could have been purchased for in 1913."

This is indeed true. When we inquire where these lots are, however, and the condition of their proprietors, we shall find they are all in the hands of marginal owners. Generally they are lots on the outskirts of the city, the property of poor men who are not able to build because the high prices of materials and labor has made even the small house, for which an ever-increasing rent is offered, too costly an undertaking for them to engage in. Usually these lots are mortgaged, and the increase of taxes, added to the interest, makes the non-income bearing property a heavier load than they can carry. They hence must sell; and where they do not sell the mortgages are foreclosed. Were prices of material low, even though wages were as high as now—if the labor efficiency were equal to that of the decade prior to the war—houses being in request as is now the case, these sellers could get a good price, since there would be a demand for the lots; but costs of building being as they are, there are no offerings for the lots, and to sell at all the price must be reduced. They are usually bought by the larger holders of land, whose estates are thereby expanded. Here we have the phenomenon of price of land falling in the presence of prices of commodities rising—a seeming contradiction.

But what is acting here is the Centripetal Trend. The little fellows are being absorbed by the big fellows; the larger is growing, while the lesser one is being extinguished. When you come down town you do not find the rich owners of valuable lots reducing their prices; on the contrary, where sales of such properties are made they are at heavy advances over pre-war figures. Higher prices for goods in the big stores with the onslaught of buying which increased wages have made possible to a wider zone of purchasers, has increased incomes of the larger marts, and prices of

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rents of such places have been advanced. This has reflected added value upon the lots, and when they are sold they go at higher prices than in the past; this is the case whether the lots be improved or unimproved.

This pressure thus instituted upon some land owners compelling them to sell is an effort of Nature to counteract and stay the hurtful influences of the Protective System, albeit it ends in centralizing the land in few hands. Were every land owner rich, so he did not have to sell this land, land would never be sold; it would always be rented. Even where deaths of owners occurred, the tendency among rich heirs would be to keep intact the landed estate, administering it through a manager; and instead of partitioning the land to divide the rents. But most land owners, as most others under the Protective System, become pressed for money, and they are compelled to sell, or to mortgage the land, which often, if not usually, is a prelude to a sale. Not all the marginal owners, however, are cheap lot holders, or ten-acre farmers. They are occasionally owners of large tracts. Wherefor we sometimes see, especially in the more sparsely settled states, great areas broken up into small parcels and sold off, now and then at auction. In this manner the land effects for the time a wide distribution, and there follows a relative lowering of prices through increasing the number of producers and the area tilled. But the centralizing process is there. No sooner are the lots sold than many of the buyers begin to experience financial difficulties. Knock down sales of land are made, mortgages are foreclosed, and the operation of drawing from many owners into the few, from the numerous small units into several larger ones, proceeds.

The Influence of the Trend Noticed in all Industry.

We shall observe this operation of the Trend throughout industry, the process being highly accelerated since 1880. Thus the number of manufacturing establishments in the United States rose from 253,852 in 1879 to 275,791 in 1914, an increase of 9 per cent. The population of the country, however, had grown from 50,155,783 in 1879 to nearly 100 millions in 1914, or approaching 100 per cent. The product of manufactures, however, did not show the slow rate of increase that the number of establishments displayed, for it had gone ahead in the period 351 per cent, and the number of hands employed had enlarged 157 per cent. This disparity in the rates of increase between the number of hands and the amount of product would indicate a growth of output per man, and also some variation in price of the unit of product between the two dates.

The Whirl of the Trend in the Field of General Wealth.

In the region of general wealth the phenomenon of concentration is even more pronounced: The income tax returns, up until 1916, when the effects of the war began to operate to the enhancement of incomes, show a progressively lessening number of payers for the smaller amounts, and increase of the numbers of those who received the larger incomes. For instance: With all persons making returns who received incomes in excess of \$3000 per year in 1913, there were 357,598 personal returns; in 1914 there were 357,515 such returns; in 1915 the number was 336,652 returns. In three years there was a loss of 20,936 payers. The smaller payers declined in number while the larger ones increased; those receiving incomes of one million dollars and more per year, grew from 60 in 1914 to 206 in 1916.

There is nothing more striking than the action of the Trend in

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this zone of the incomes of the people. It displays a condition of huge fortunes yielding vast revenues in the possession of few individuals, while the great multitude of the people do not have receipts sufficient to maintain decent livings. Thus the income tax returns for 1914 showed the total number of persons in the United States with incomes of \$3000 and upwards to be 357,515. Of these 78,694 were single men and women, and married women. If we shall allow five persons to each married man, and add the number of 78,694, we shall have 1,472,790 persons in the Nation who had incomes of \$3000 per year and upwards. This in a population of 100 millions is less than one and one-half per cent. Of the total of 357,515 payers, however, 276,754 had incomes of \$10,000 and less, leaving 180,788 to possess receipts ranging upwards to sums exceeding—several far exceeding—\$1,000,000 per year, which latter incomes were enjoyed by forty-four families.

There were, therefore, over 98,500,000 persons in the Nation, grouped more or less in families, whose incomes were less than \$3000 per year.

Between 1890 and 1912 the wealth of the country increased from 65 billions to 187 billions of dollars, or 188 per cent. The share of this wealth going to the wage earners showed steady decrease. In the manufacturing industry the proportion of the net product going to the laborers in 1889 was 44.9 per cent; in 1909 it had declined to 40.2 per cent. In 1909 investigations of the earnings of 619,595 employees in all industries disclosed that 64 per cent had less than \$750 per year; the average of all being \$721. In 1915 between one-fourth and one-third of the male workers in factories and mines earned less than \$10 per week; from two-thirds to three-fourths earned less than \$15 per week; from two-thirds to three-fourths of the women workers in industry earned less than \$8 per week; one-half earned less than \$6 per week, and one-fifth earned less than \$4 per week. Below these is a margin of people partially or wholly unemployed, which unemployment increases at times to become a national calamity. In New York City one out of every twelve corpses is buried at public expense, or turned over to physicians for dissection. Wherefore we may take it that under the Protective System the zone of dire famine is twelve or less removes from the center; and that in its region beside gigantic accretions of wealth and almost immeasurable abundance possessed by a few individuals, the people so suffer the miseries of poverty that they cannot give decent burial to their dead, but must deliver their bodies to the Potter's Field.

(To be continued; copyright 1920 by Emma J. Bennett.)

Now that somebody has taken the trouble to count them, it appears that there are in circulation in the currency of the United States five varieties of the \$1 note, five different \$2 bills, six \$5 bills, seven \$10 bills, seven \$20 bills, six \$50 bills, six \$100 bills, and four \$500 bills. Comparatively few citizens, to be sure, have the opportunity to study the differences between \$500 bills, but it illustrates the matter-of-course-ness with which currency is handled that many will probably be surprised to know that the lower denominations are printed in so many styles. Nor does it often occur to anybody to realize that he carries in his pocket-book some fine and interesting examples of the art of engraving.

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Churches Called To Work For Industrial Justice

By JASPER T. MOSES.

At a time when the church's right to speak on industrial issues is being challenged, the Labor Sunday Message issued by Rev. Worth M. Tippy, executive secretary of the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, is noteworthy for its vigorous proclamation that the church must intervene, at whatever risk and cost, when the welfare of the people is at stake.

After showing the tremendous economic loss to the nation in the strikes of last year and pointing out that even deeper perils lie in the threatened destruction of national solidarity and the spirit of co-operation and goodwill, the message says:

"The church, loving the nation, primarily concerned for the welfare of the masses of the people but devoted to the welfare of all, committed by its deepest principles and by the purpose of its existence to righteousness and the safeguarding of life, watches the deepening conflict with profound concern. It cannot stand aloof. At whatever risk of becoming involved in the controversy it must go into the midst of the contending forces, if possible between them. It must bring to bear every ounce of influence which it possesses to bring these contending groups together, and to induce them to work out permanent and effective methods of co-operation.

"If employers and workers are to get together to work out co-operative relations in industry, which shall put heart and power into production, which shall bring just and balanced returns to the two groups, there must first be a method devised by which they can get together and keep together. If no form of labor organization is permitted and if not only strikes but labor organization itself is fought to a finish, there appears no way out of our troubles, but rather a deepening of them. We shall have an autocratic management of industry on the one side, and either a kind of serfdom on the other or a militant, bitter and class-conscious organization of labor growing yearly more revolutionary. That is just the danger of the present hour.

"The church cannot be hesitant here. When, as may often happen, the inclusiveness of its fellowship precludes a corporate judgment on the part of the whole church, the pulpit must nevertheless be true to its prophetic office. The case is hopeless if employers will not allow collective action by their workers. The church must stand for the right of organization and collective action, under proper ethical restraints and safeguards for public welfare. It must do so not only for prudential reasons, and because it is right, but because the manhood and freedom of the workers are at stake.

"In insisting on this the churches are not standing alone. The right of collective action is recognized as fundamental by the Industrial Conference called by the President, in its report of March 6, 1920, and also in the platforms of each of the two great political parties. The Platform for American Industry adopted on May 18, 1920, by the National Association of Manufacturers recognizes it as a relative right, ending where injury to the public begins.

JAS. W. HARRIS

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"The church cannot allow itself to be estopped from this course either by pressure from reactionary employers on the one hand, or by the manifest evils in the labor movement on the other. It must be strong enough to attack these evils and to resist the pressure. It must urge employers, especially Christian employers, to work out democratic principles in their establishments with due time for investigation and experi-

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ment. The important matter is not just what plan is followed, but that a start is made, and that everything that is done be on the road to a definite goal—the development of democratic factory organization in which all truly co-operate and which is for the benefit of each and all.

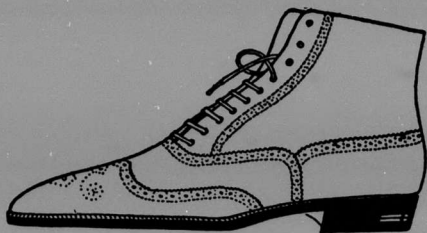
“The law of struggle or competition, as the historic dominant law of industry, has pitted employer against employer, corporation against corporation, nation against nation. It was responsible away back for the great war with its gigantic economic and human losses. It has pitted capitalist and employer against the workers, and the workers against capitalist and employer in a struggle which threatens another cataclysm and at least the temporary shattering of civilization.

“Now we want the Golden Rule, ‘Do unto others as you would have them do unto you,’ and Christ’s saying, ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,’ set up in factories and applied to the total personnel, from stockholders, directors and president to the unskilled day worker. We want to exalt the word of the prophet Micah: ‘What doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, to love kindness and to walk humbly with thy God.’ We want a concern for the individual life, which is basic in the teaching of Jesus, to have a controlling place in industrial relations.

“The commercial spirit, so-called, can be escaped only as men consciously work to produce from the motive of service. Once again the object of industry, if Christian, is to meet great human needs, to lift the level of the life of all, to make it possible for the largest number to have the best possible chance at life. All who work that way, work in a Christian atmosphere, which is elevating and inspiring and which brings out the best that is in them. The Christian principle takes one step farther, and leads to the primary motive of industry. Is the motive of profits, which is the primary motive of modern enterprise, a Christian motive, and ought it not to be supplanted by or rigidly subordinated to Christ’s great motive of service? Here is a world of people, human beings with eternal destinies. They have great needs, material and spiritual; they have to feed, clothe, house, transport, educate and recreate themselves and their families, and to develop the Godlike within them. That is the real meaning of agriculture, railroading, manufacturing, education and religion. Everybody, therefore, who has any part in these processes has a sacred calling, and ought to work with the same motive and spirit as the true minister and missionary who minister to the religious needs of men.”

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RAILROADS ARE ON TRIAL.

By CHARLES M. KELLEY.

Another Daniel has come to judgment, to tell railway managers that they are on trial, and that upon the wisdom and intelligence manifested by them during the next year will depend the future status of transportation—whether it shall continue under private control or be taken over by the Government and maintained for the people.

Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, is a typical railroad executive, but he possesses a vision that is lacking in some of his colleagues. He plainly can read the signs of the times. He knows that the public will not always quiescently accept the conditions that have been established by a complaisant Congress, controlled by large business interests. There will be a sharp reaction against the misappropriation of public funds to pay private dividends and to liquidate the aims of private management. Already it is in evidence. There is widespread disapproval of the unbusinesslike methods of railway managers, resulting in an almost complete prostration of industry and commerce, and the recent rate increase is certain to increase the disaffection that everywhere prevails.

Mr. Willard says that the public is dubious of railroad securities, but he is hopeful that the future will materially soften this attitude of hostility and bring to the treasuries of the railroads the new funds that must be secured if the railroads are to be operated efficiently. If the railway managers do not see and meet their responsibility, then private ownership is doomed, and the logical next step is Government ownership of railroads.

What Mr. Willard does not see clearly is that with rates already so high that the carriers will soon be operating on a basis of diminishing returns, resulting from curtailment of traffic, the addition of interest and amortization charges will increase instead of reduce railroad troubles. That dividends and interest may be paid on outstanding railroad securities, the Interstate Commerce Commission has recently imposed upon the public a new direct tax of more than a billion and a half of dollars. When this increase runs the gamut of multiplying increases that must be borne by commodities, it will aggregate a tax of more than \$50 per year for every man, woman and child in the country, or approximately \$300 per year for the average American family.

The railroads are offering their securities at high interest rates, increasing operating charges, and it will be but a short time until the executives are again back in Washington asking, and doubtless receiving additional increases of traffic rates.

By what feat of legerdemain do the railroads expect to relieve the nation's industry from the blight of inadequate transportation? With winter coming apace and coal bins empty, with manufacturing plants closing because they can not secure raw materials or the transport of finished commodities, with last year's crop still in warehouses and this year's crops still in the fields, with stagnation and paralysis everywhere, what are the railway executives doing to redeem a very serious situation?

The claim is made that transportation has failed because the carriers can not secure cars and motive power from their insufficient revenues. That was the basis of the demand for the recent freight increase. Cars can not be built in a day or a week, and if the railroad managers had an

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unlimited reserve they could not possibly add to their equipment in time to avert disaster.

Hundreds of thousands of workers are idle while the entire world is clamoring for the necessities of life. With under-production everywhere, factories can not produce because they lack transportation. The situation has become progressively worse, notwithstanding the Government has been struggling energetically for several months to bring order out of chaos that followed immediately upon the return of the roads to private control.

There are sufficient cars and motive power to transport the nation's output if they were intelligently used. That much is admitted. The Government, under more trying conditions, gave satisfactory service. It responded to the greatest demand ever made upon the transportation system of the country. The cause of the present breakdown, therefore, must be other than the alibi offered by private managers.

The truth is that there would be sufficient cars were they efficiently utilized. The Federal Trade Commission has made a survey that justifies its statement that under a unified system and the proper routing of cars there would be enough for all demands and a reserve for emergencies of more than 15 per cent.

If the nation's salvation rests in the acquisition of additional cars by the railroads, then we are doomed to some heart-breaking experiences during the next few months. Lack of income is not a good reason for the trouble. During the five months of private control the railroads were financed by the Government. They had unlimited revenue. They had free access to the Federal treasury, and took from it more than half a billion dollars.

The American people are proverbially good-natured and long suffering. They have endured much at the hands of railway managers. They have not seriously protested when it was patent that we were rushing headlong to destruction. The railroad propagandists had done their work so well that there is a widely held view that the present difficulties are heritages from the period of Federal control.

But truth must eventually overtake the misrepresentation that has been disseminated concerning the results attained by the Government. The railroads managers have been given everything they had the courage to demand, and if they don't make good there will be protest from the public so strong that Congress, reactionary as it is, will be compelled to intervene.

The question is: What can Congress do that it has not already done? It enacted a transportation bill just as it had been written by railroad officials. It is so generous in its provisions that "the moral sense of mankind" has been shocked. It is the last word in corporate greed and arrogance. And yet the remedy for the railroad malady has not been found. They languish in spite of the stimulation of Government subsidies and exorbitant transportation charges.

The remedy is Government ownership. That saved the situation when the national welfare was in peril. It can again save the situation. It must come as the inevitable next step.

The transportation problem is fundamental. It can not be reached with palliatives. Congress must go to the seat of the trouble, and there it will find a cancer that has poisoned the entire system and forecast the end of private control.

Congress will act when the people demand it. And the people are going to demand it, long and insistently, when they realize that they have been buncoed by the propagandists of the banker-speculator owners of railroad property.

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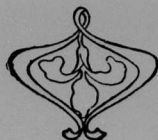
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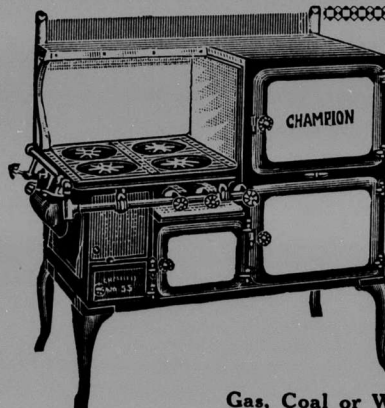
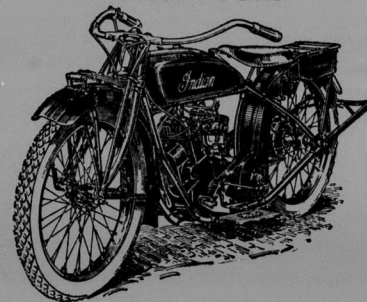
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Conscious of the justice, wisdom, and nobility of our cause, the American Federation of Labor appeals to all men and women of labor to join with us in the great movement for its achievement.

More than two million wage earners who have reaped the advantages of organization and federation appeal to their brothers and sisters of toil to unite with them and participate in the glorious movement with its attendant benefits.

There are affiliated to the American Federation of Labor 112 International Trade Unions with their 23,000 Local Unions; 45 State Federations; 732 City Central Bodies, and 724 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions having no Internationals.

We have 1889 Volunteer and special organizers, as well as the officers of the unions and of the American Federation of Labor itself, always willing and anxious to aid their fellow-workmen to organize and in every other way better their conditions.

For information all are invited to write to the American Federation of Labor headquarters, at Washington, D. C.

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Sixteen states have established state accident insurance funds; and five provinces of Canada—Manitoba having just come into line—now provide compensation insurance at cost through exclusive state funds.

Recently Miles M. Dawson, consulting actuary, New York, made official investigations of the state funds in Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. In a favorable report just issued by the American Association for Labor Legislation whose "Standards" for workmen's compensation laws emphasize the need of exclusive state funds, Mr. Dawson writes:

"All three funds thus examined were found to be in sound and prosperous condition. Tested by correct and even stringent actuarial standards, they possess ample surplus over all liabilities, immediate and contingent. Compared with stock insurance companies, they result in savings of millions of dollars every year to employers, while at the same time providing most certain and liberal benefits to injured workers and their families. In low expense of management they set new records, not merely for themselves, but for all carriers of workmen's compensation insurance throughout the world. Most important of all, these investigations show the superiority of state funds over commercial insurance companies and of the exclusive state fund, as in Ohio, over all other carriers. This is the finding of most immediate and direct interest to employers, employees and the public."

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GREAT DOCK WAREHOUSE.

A great port warehouse system where ship, rail and storage facilities shall be brought together on the harbor front is to be established by the State Board of Harbor Commissioners on the site of the old "Hay Wharf" at Third and Berry streets.

The board has approved plans presented by Chief Engineer Frank G. White, calling for the expenditure of \$2,300,000 in the most extensive single construction program ever projected in this port.

It comprehends an increase to the harbor facilities of docking and cargo space equivalent to six docks such as are now used by the Pacific Steamship Company at Piers 16 and 18, totaling 600,000 square feet, with storage capacity for 40,000 tons of freight.

The warehouse will be built on a combined wharf shed and storage basis, on a fill inside of an extension from the Embarcadero to the seawall. Docking space, 990 feet long, is provided, with revolving cranes and whip hoists to move cargo from the ship to the warehouse floors.

The warehouse structure, six multiple stories in height, 816 feet long, will stretch along the new pier and connect by rail with the Belt Railroad. Ample trackage is supplied parallel to the rear of the warehouse.

Ships of the heaviest tonnage may tie up alongside of the warehouse and cargo handled with facility and dispatch.

Inside the seawall the area will be reclaimed. The entire territory in the project includes the old hay wharf, Berry-street wharf, Second and Third street wharves and adjacent slips up to the Third street bridge across the channel. It will run westerly to the Third-street bridge. Berry street will be widened and connected with the Embarcadero.

Among other landmarks in that section to come out will be the old Pope & Talbot wharf.

Work on salvaging the old docks is to begin within the next sixty days. The new work will be put on a unit basis.

John H. McCallum, president of the board, said:

"The project is superior to anything in the United States. It brings to this port the facilities for handling at the waterside, all cargoes of seasonal freight, grain, cotton, and the tropical pineapple and sugar at a minimum of cost for both domestic and for export movement.

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Just what a slacker is is not easy to say. But it is possible to say what a slacker is not. Here is an illustration: Claude Harrison, a youth of Alaska, received his draft questionnaire as he was making plans for a hunting excursion in the Lake Minchumina country, sixty miles north of Mount McKinley. Abandoning his pleasure plans, he "hiked" to Nattishna, one hundred and twenty-five miles distant, where he expected to find the United States commissioner. The latter was at Nenana, one hundred miles farther along, and to this place young Harrison tramped, at last finding the official and enrolling. This is only one of thousands of instances going to prove that the man who wants to serve his country knows no such word as fail, in or out of the bright lexicon of youth.

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(In the August 5th issue of L'Information Ouvriere et Sociale, A. Merrheim, secretary of the Federation of Metal Trades Workers of France, and one of the great leaders of the French trade-union movement, publishes an article which in a lucid and concise manner sets forth the views of French trade unionists concerning the tremendous efforts now being made by the Third Internationale of Moscow to divide and disintegrate the trade-union movement of Europe and the whole world in favor of an alliance with the methods and policies of Bolshevism. The article reads in translation as follows:)

I have previously, through a letter from my friend Martoff in Moscow, demonstrated how in that country "communistic" consumption is quite a success, but that the same cannot be said concerning "communistic" labor or production, employing the word "communistic" in the sense it is used in Russia. The Russians have a long road to travel before solving the problems of production. In fact, according to the remark of Lenine himself, so far they are only "making experiments." I confess they are free to make such experiments, but I object to their desire to impose them upon us and compel us to adopt their doctrines, and methods of experimenting.

I don't want to be understood as criticising or condemning the Russian revolution, as it became necessary and an inevitable consequence of the corruption under the czar's regime. I also admit that the revolution was hastened and assisted, not only through the outbreak of the world war, but more so through Russia's economic condition and the czarist absolutism.

As for the economic situation, the mines, factories, and railroads were owned and operated by French, German and English capitalists. All income from the mines and factories went to these, as there did not exist in Russia, at any time, any middle class, big or little. There were only the moujicks and the feudal lords, and no vestige of any middle class, as we have in France and in most all other European countries. This explains the ease with which the opposition was overcome, and how the transition from the absolutism or dictatorship of the czar to that of Lenine and his coterie was accomplished without any marked resistance.

On the other hand, the regime of absolute terrorism and corruption of the czar, had long ago converted the intelligent and educated portion of the people into revolutionists, mostly socialists, and served to induce them to support the revolution when the czar's government fell.

One must take these various factors into consideration when speaking of the Russian revolution. It was easy to bring about, relatively speaking, and in no way to be compared with what it would have been in France, where the peasantry, the middle class and the small merchants constitute the bulwark of society and stand ready to defend it, and support the big capitalists and republican majority governments.

What should be considered is, whether we Frenchmen would tolerate a dictatorship like that of Lenine, a despotism like that imposed upon the Russians who never have known what freedom of any kind means.

Are we, as French trade unionists, ready to abandon our trade-union philosophy, organization and methods of procedure, and openly substitute for them acts of violence, terrorism, and force, and use these as

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our permanent weapon of propaganda and appeal for support from the workers? Are we ready to adopt what they really mean, civil war, and declare such to be the main weapon of French trade unionism?

That is what Lenine and his adherents desire to impose upon us, and that is the thing they desire to bring about, according to a letter from Martoff. The latter says that the Committee of the Third Internationale has decided to start a schism in the international trade-union movement and in all trade-union centers, where a propaganda group is to be established, obedient to and taking orders from Lenine and his assistants. Thus reads the letter from Martoff:

"Moscow, June 26, 1920.—My Dear Merrheim: I take advantage of a chance that does not often occur in our condition of absolute isolation in which the bolshevist government keeps us, to write you a few lines regarding a matter which I deem of great importance.

"In the last few days a work has been begun that means the dismemberment or division of the international trade-union movement, and which is to supplement the existing condition in the political international movement. By reason of the opposition of the General Confederation of Labor of Italy, they were unable to go straight toward this object, which has for its purpose to induce all revolutionary trade unionists to secede from the Amsterdam Federation of International Trade Unions. A concession has been made to the Italians and the English so that for the present only an international center of propaganda is being established, to which the national general federations of labor are to affiliate, with instructions to work within the Amsterdam international organization so as to bring it to adopt revolutionary tactics. Said purpose might seem innocent enough, and even meritorious, were it not for the fact that we know and understand the men who direct this propaganda and what they really intend to do. Affiliated with the political bureau of the communist international, the new center of international trade unionism will seek to introduce into all the large trade-union organizations the question of affiliation with the international of Moscow, and as the real purpose is to undermine the Amsterdam international it will take some time to succeed in breaking away all or the majority of French, English, German and Austrian trade unions, and as the time flies altogether too slow for those who desire to accomplish the revolution within a few months, the plan is to ask individual groups, organizations, and federations here and there to affiliate separately, one by one, with the central organization in Moscow (and as regards the political movement, several days ago, the elements of the extreme left of the German independent socialists were invited to join the communist international before the party as a whole arrives at a decision to do so).

"Thus, in my opinion, the unity of the international trade-union movement is seriously menaced, although that unity has been well maintained, even in the face of the division in the international political movement. It will be up to you and other leaders of the French trade-union movement to decide what attitude to take against this coming menace. My purpose is only to inform you so that you may prepare your defense against the campaign of bolshevism to overthrow the confederation of labor and subject it to the Russian international.

"I find the means of communication between Moscow and the socialist world movement to be quite unreliable. The Russian communists assume the right (and no doubt they have such a right) to criticise

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severely all national workingmen's movements, political as well as trade union. They find fault with the aims and methods of the workers' organizations everywhere, accusing the active members of treason, opportunism, and folly, unless they follow blindly the Russian program. Thus, you and Dumoulin are accused of having lost the strike of July, 1919. They not only condemn, but they provoke and organize secession moves in all other movements and among trade unions. But, singular to say, they make an exception of themselves, by common and tacit understanding, and do not permit socialists of other countries to utter the least word of criticism of the communist party of Russia, and if the socialists should do so, they have to defend themselves against the accusation of being agents of Lloyd George, Clemenceau, or playing into the hands of the Allies. This is a deliberate weapon resorted to by Lenine and Trotzky, whereby they exercise their power over the international movement. It results that whenever any attempt at secession or other foolish move emanates from Moscow, the non-bolshevist leaders of the national organizations in other countries are bereft of all defense against such accusations.

"Does it not seem to you that the time has come to take notice of what Russian bolshevism really means from the standpoint of the ideals of reorganization of society as proposed under socialism? Are you not convinced that if we are not permitted to have any opinions or judgment regarding bolshevism as it works in Russia, we shall be powerless to defend the workingmen's movements in Europe against the onslaughts of bolshevism. There are wise ones among us decreeing this foolish rule: 'Let us make the revolution in our own country what we please, and do not bother about Russian tactics, which are good enough for the Russian bears, but never succeed here.' Unfortunately, the Russian bears are not satisfied with making a paradise for themselves, for in their fanatical zeal they want to earn the blessings of the entire world. And socialist Europe, whether it likes it or not, will have to determine what kind of paradise the Russians have, if they at all shall be able to apply bolshevist theories to the labor movements of France, England or Germany, etc.

"I would not like to have it said that, as long as Soviet Russia fights heroically against imperialism, any criticism of bolshevism will weaken the resistance of international socialism against imperialism. That is but a false assumption. For whether good or bad, whether wisely or unwisely practicing socialist principles, the Russian revolution is a fact and its existence is preventing imperialism from triumphing over international socialism and aiding Europe to keep alive. The proletariat of the world has sufficient cause to fight intervention, even though it may hold that the Moscow brand of socialism is only another form of despotism seeking to destroy every seed of socialism.

"I consider that the time has come for the active membership of the French Confederation of Labor to prepare for the organization of a commission to study revolutionary Russia, its economic conditions and the transformation of social life under bolshevism. The English have already sent such a mission. The Italians have also arrived in great numbers to learn of what is going on here. The conclusions of both these missions would seem sufficiently important to induce socialists in general to inform themselves on Russian problems. The French should now in their turn take them up. I understand there has been some talk in the Confederation of Labor about sending a mission. I sincerely hope they will put this idea into effect. A well selected and planned commission should put you on a level with the bolsheviks, who for their

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part are well informed concerning the weak and strong points of every national movement, and who realize that they are opposed only by the active leaders in politics and trade unionism, and that they may therefore persuade the rank and file that a real state of socialism has been established in Russia.

"Therefore I say, a French delegation to Russia is indispensable in the interest of both the revolution in Russia and the French movement. And this regardless of what a visit of the official representatives of French workers may contribute to increase the rather insufficient opposition against intervention and help to establish peace with the Soviet government.

"In closing, I express the hope of being able to personally shake hands with you or Dumoulin, here in Moscow. With best wishes for successful leadership of the labor movement in these difficult times, I am—J. Martoff."

The above letter confirms a despatch from the Russian telegraph agency, "Rosta," published in L'Humanite, April 19, 1920, reading as follows:

"Stockholm, April 9.—The representative of the Pan-Russian Council of Trade Unions and delegate of the Russian Metal Workers, Alexander Chliaputkoff, former member of the Soviet government, has arrived on a visit to Scandinavian countries for the purpose of renewing relations with international trade unions.

"He has by telegraph informed the Federation of British Trade Unions, the French Confederation of Labor, the General Commission of Trade Unions of Germany, the Italian Confederation of Labor, and also the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam, concerning the object of his visit.

"He expresses the hope that the working classes of the said countries will use their influence with their respective governments to obtain permission to visit said countries. In most civilized countries capitalist and so-called representative labor missions have been organized for the purpose of studying conditions under Soviet rule.

"Such is particularly the talk in countries that have done the most to render the conditions intolerable in Russia, by supporting the Russian counter-revolution and sending troops to fight the soviets.

"Before they send such missions of inquiry it would be useful to the workers to obtain information regarding Russia from the mouth of representatives of the organized workers in Russia.

"It is therefore hoped that the labor organizations of every country may learn the truth from the direct representatives of Russian labor, and that they may do all they can to obtain permission for these Russian representatives to travel freely."

Martoff's letter explains to us the reasons for the benignant tone of this telegram, as Chliaputkoff, whom I knew personally in Paris before the war, is at work in Europe, and I have heard of him from Berlin as well as expect to meet him at our Metal Trades convention.

Thus it is the opposition of the Italian representatives of labor that causes him to visit Europe under the pretext of finding it necessary to inform the European workers. In fact, however, he comes as official representative to prepare and start secession movements among the workers of the different countries. Really, the central governing body of the labor organization that has given Chliaputkoff his credentials for this purpose, is a member of the Third Internationale. And the

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Third Congress of Russian Trade Unions held in April of this year adopted, after a speech by Radek, a resolution to the following effect:

"The Russian trade unions that have hand in hand with the bolsheviks fought to destroy capitalism in Russia, must not remain outside the fold of the Third Internationale, wherefore the Third Congress of Russian Trade Unions vote to affiliate with the Third Internationale and to transmit an appeal to all revolutionary trade unions of all countries to follow the example of the organized workers of Russia."

In the issue of L'Humanite for April 19, 1920, wherein this resolution was published, it states that there attended thirteen hundred delegates of whom over 1000 were communists, about 63 menchevists, and 200 not affiliated with any party. This Third Congress represented over four million organized workers."

These figures are manifestly untrue, as before the war the number of workers in manufactures and related industries did not exceed 1,800,000, while the rest of the 178 millions of people, the overwhelming majority, belonged to the agricultural occupations, and as for there being 1000 communists against 63 mensheviks Martoff's letter sufficiently gives the reasons for the small number of the latter. Everybody becomes a communist through force, as those who are not have neither right to communicate, hold meetings, or keep from starving.

According to this tactic, after the secessions are accomplished, what will be done with our trade-union movements of France, England, Italy, etc.? In order that we may not be accused of misrepresenting Lenine's thoughts on the subject, we take occasion to reproduce the resolutions introduced in the Second Congress of the Third Internationale, recently convened at Moscow. A resume of these resolutions were published in L'Humanite of July 14th, from which we quote the action of the Communist Party relative to the trade-union movement:

"12. The Second Congress not only sanctions the historic mission of the Communist Party, but takes occasion to declare, at least in their general features, the principles upon which any communist party should be founded.

"13. It must be founded upon the basis of strict centralized control, demand an iron discipline over its members in the conduct of inevitable civil war.

"14. It must be founded upon democratic centralized principles, the election of inferior groups, and the submission of such groups to the general leaders of the superior group, and the creation of a powerful center to manage and control the movement during the period between two congresses.

"15. As long as communist parties are outlawed, they may dispense with the elective and use the co-operative principle, as they are doing in Russia. Where military law prevails the communist party will be unable to use the democratic referendum among the membership (as proposed by a part of the American communists), but may authorize its governing body to take such steps as may be deemed proper from time to time.

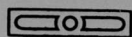
"16. To provide extended and wide autonomy to the local organizations of the party, will tend to weaken the party and lead it in the direction away from the center toward anarchy.

"17. Where the middle class (bourgeoisie) or social democrats with counter-revolutionary tendencies exist, the communist party should endeavor to combine and harmonize regular and outlaw labor (legal with illegal labor). Regular labor should be controlled by outlaw labor. The communist faction in the legislature or in the legislative bodies of

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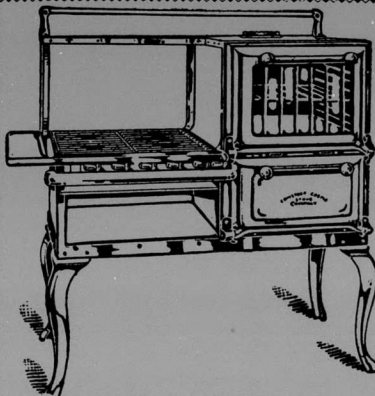
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municipalities must be absolutely obedient to the party, regardless of the latter being legalized or not. The same should pertain to the press.

"18. Wherever there exist proletarians or near-proletarians, communistic groups should be organized: into a soviet, a trade union, a workshop, a co-operative store, etc. These groups in non-partisan organizations should affiliate with the party and be subordinated in regular order from the higher to the lower group.

"19. In most localities the communist party originates among the city workers; but to hasten the victory of the working class it must also become a farmers' party, wherefore it should organize groups in the country districts.

"The international organization of the proletariat will not be successful unless in every country where communists exist they adopt the above principles in the carrying out of their aims to accomplish the revolution of the proletariat."

In republishing the above instructions of the Communist Committee of the Third Internationale, I do not exaggerate in saying that it seeks to establish permanent civil war as a substitute for our trade-union principles of revolutionary propaganda and action.

Even where a socialist government exists it escapes as little as a bourgeois (middle-class) government these threats of civil war. For paragraph 17 of the above declaration provides specifically: "Where the middle class or social democrats with counter-revolutionary tendencies exist, the communist party should endeavor to combine regular labor with outlaw labor," and to be still more precise, it adds: "Regular labor should be controlled by outlaw labor."

That is clear. Lenine and his party desire us to adopt his principles if not his nihilistic and terroristic plans of action before the war. Said plans of action were defeated by even such a corrupt and unsatisfactory government as that of the czar, which at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war defeated and crushed them so effectually in 1905 that if the recent world war had not come the czar would still govern Russia.

As for this propaganda, both legal and outlaw, we note that those who are to conduct and direct it in the various countries, must obey instructions absolutely as they come from the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow or Petrograd—and this, according to the hokus-pocus of words—is done in the name of "democratic centralization," which, according to paragraph 16 of the instructions, must not provide wide autonomy as such will only weaken the communist party and actually promote the centrifugal tendencies toward anarchy.

Thus with his Third Internationale Lenine hopes to secure dictatorship over all classes, all parties in Russia, including those who were

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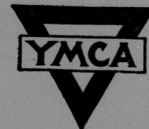
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socialistic in the past. This means the dictatorship of Lenine and his party over all other parties, and labor movements of Europe and the world, is what is sought to be achieved.

This is no exaggeration, or surprising thing, for his declarations bear out his theory of a world revolution being necessary to save the Russian revolution. And this was made still clearer by the explanations of Kamenev at the session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets when our comrades, Cachin and Frossard, were received. A resume of that session was published in L'Humanite, July 12th, pursuant to an unofficial report furnished said paper by the organ of the German Communist Party, the Red Flag.

Upon the receipt of Cachin's explanations, Kamenev (according to L'Humanite) remarked "that it is incorrect to say that it is premature to begin the social revolution."

"No, comrades, back of this untrue statement skulks the lie that one may overthrow the middle class without fighting, without a dictatorship, and without a civil war. We do not expect that the whole world will rise with us, but we already hear the iron tramp of the battalions of workers responding to our appeal and through them we see at Moscow the realization of the land of solidarity for the proletariat of all nations."

One need not quibble, for Lenine has his quiver full of dialectical arrows, and I personally know their power from what transpired at the Zimmerwald convention; these principles mean but one thing, these instructions mean just one thing: Imperialism. And I have not denounced and fought during the entire period of the war the pre-war imperialism of the French government and other governments responsible for the war, to come to accept and bow down before the imperialism of Lenine and his party, camouflaging under the Third Internationale. Never, if I can help it.

Just as Martoff writes, it is time for us to move against it.

Up to the present, we stood silent so as not to increase the difficulties of the Russian revolution and by reason of the Allies' stupidity and

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foolish policies toward the said revolution. But when Lenine and his party officially declare their intention to create divisions in the labor movements of every country and among the international trade unions, and as his official delegate is visiting Europe, we have now more right than ever to discuss Lenine's principles and tactics.

These principles and tactics propose the destruction of all sources of life, activity, production, and experience gathered and handed down to us during a hundred generations.

They mean a reversal of our trade-union philosophy, and also the denial of the economic welfare and progress of society.

In fact, the fundamental difference between Lenine's theories—baptized by him as communistic—and our theories, which we call trade-union principles, can be summed up as follows:

Communistic bolshevism has maintained, and still maintains and affirms that the economic happiness of the masses can be achieved merely by a redistribution of the economic products among the masses. This redistribution is made by him while at the same time destroying parts of the forces necessary to production.

Trade unionism, on the contrary, maintains that well-being and happiness for the masses can be secured only by means of increased production and the introduction of new methods founded upon the recognition of the new and ancient rights of the workers.

The bolshevists begin with destruction; in distributing the surpluses gathered by preceding generations they are driven by their experience to resort to force and to perpetuate their dictatorship by resort to violence, if to succeed at all in making any headway.

Trade unionism opposes all destruction, fights everything that tends to diminish the opportunities and means of production, and reposes sufficient faith in labor to accomplish its emancipation and independence of the wage system and to follow the constant progress and betterment of society.

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Trade unionism, on the other hand, aims to create equality through the creation of abundance and the joy of production.

These are the different attitudes of the two systems.

The attitude of Lenine and his party has resulted in the militarization of labor, and this is the manner and definition of the term as used by Trotsky and laid down by him at the last communist congress of Russian trade unions:

"Every worker must become a soldier of labor, with no will of his own. If he is ordered to change his place, he must obey. If he disobeys, he is to be treated as a deserter and punished. This is the discipline to be created by the trade unions. This is what I understand by the term militarization of labor."

But even Russian workers do not take kindly to the system. The Times, generally well informed on Russian affairs, published recently the following despatch:

"The Krasnaia Gazeta of Petrograd, in enumerating strikes occurring in the nationalized factories during the month of June, fixes the number of such at 217, of which 20 were accompanied by violence and were settled only by the threats of the Soviets to send the strikers to jail at hard labor. By reason of these constant strikes the Supreme Council of Industry has passed a resolution providing for the holding of compulsory meetings in the factories, at which speakers will expound to the workers the benefits of the Soviet rules and regulations. The workers will be paid at the regular rates for the time consumed in attending such meetings."

To be forced to resort to such a system and adopt such methods, is to my mind worse than serfdom. We shall never adopt them in Europe, and in believing it possible to establish them in Russia, one may in advance understand their effect upon production.

This is written for the information of those who might lend themselves to these efforts at division or secession. They will find me ready at any time to expose them and to defend the principles of trade unionism, and I am not at all doubtful as to who shall win, if the trouble starts.

But, let us think of the waste of efforts and energy to be lost. This is the sad part of this business.

According to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the United States leads all other countries in the world in the number of deaths due to industrial accidents.

A striking development in the movement to obtain better conditions for children is described in the pamphlet just issued by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, entitled "State Commissions for the Study and Revision of Child Welfare Laws."

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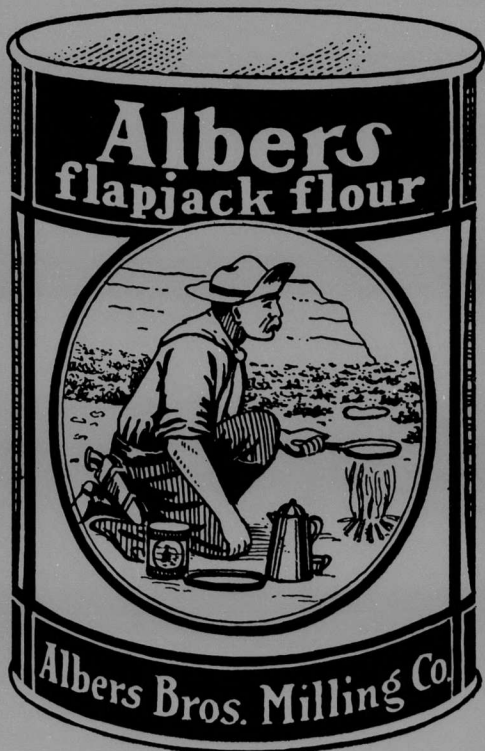
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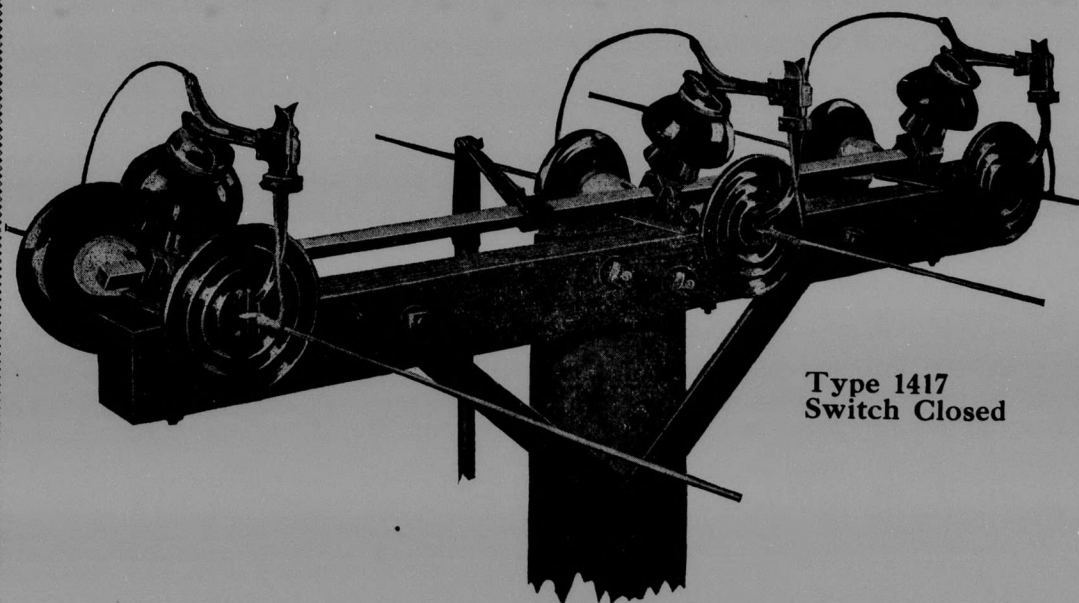
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Or the many to slave and shirk?
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Well, what care I
If the workers die—
I claim the Right to Work!

—From "The Judas," by Kaufman.

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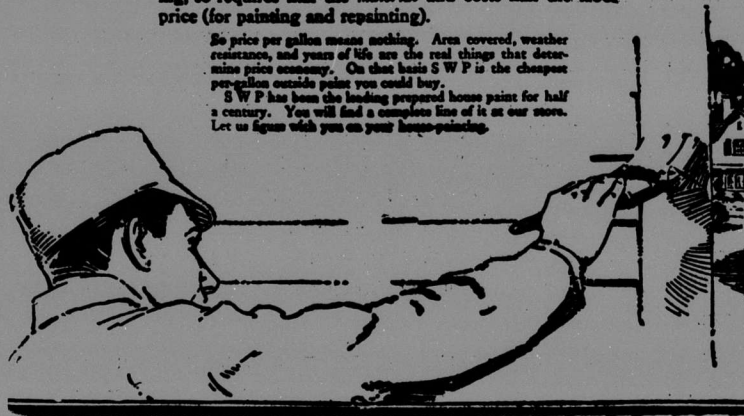
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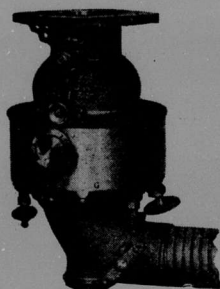
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INDUSTRIAL PEACE BY LAW

By John A. Fitch, in The Survey.

Governor Allen, of Kansas, has been East on a speaking trip. He appeared before the legislatures of New Jersey and New York, addressed the Boston Chamber of Commerce, and at the Waldorf Astoria in New York spoke before five hundred diners under the auspices of the League for Industrial Rights, formerly known as the American Anti-Boycott Association. And the burden of his message was everywhere the same. It was something like this. We have found the way to industrial justice and hence to industrial peace in Kansas. We will establish in Kansas a Mecca of well ordered, contented, just relationships. Unless you pass similar legislation in

your states your industries will move to Kansas where operators can carry on their business in an atmosphere of well-regulated justice.

Everywhere audiences have listened to Governor Allen with deep interest. They have been impressed. Newspapers have reported that we must have this Kansas law. Public speakers have indorsed it. Legislators have introduced bills patterned after the Kansas model. Three of these are now pending in the Legislature of New York. There is one in New Jersey. There is a clamor for such legislation in other states.

Never before in the history of the United States has there been so widespread a movement of this sort. There are no less than six proposals before the constitutional convention in Illinois involving a limitation on the right to strike or some form of compulsory arbitration. A constitutional amendment is proposed in Massachusetts, giving the legislature "the right to pass laws restricting the right of individuals to strike." There is a bill pending in Massachusetts for compulsory arbitration of street railway disputes, and there is one in New York covering food, fuel and transportation, in addition to the three patterned after the law of Kansas.

The Kansas law is unique. It is the first and so far the only law in any American State compelling employees and employers to submit their differences to a tribunal for adjudication. It is the only law ever passed in America requiring the manager of an industry to get permission from anybody before he can close his plant. In Kansas, if his industry is "affected with a public interest" he has to give reasons for any desire he may have to suspend operations, and the court will examine those reasons. If it finds them "meritorious" it will let him off. Otherwise he will have to continue to run his shop or have it taken away from him.

It would be about the same way with the workers if they had a similar right. They haven't. They can't show that their desire to quit is meritorious. It is just plain downright illegal to strike, whatever the reason. And the penalty for violation of the law is \$1000 or one

year in jail or both, if the offender is a "person." If he is an officer of a corporation or of a union the penalty is \$5000 fine, or two years in jail, or both.

It should be made clear that this law does not apply to all industries. It applies to industries which are "affected, with a public interest." These industries are declared to be the manufacture or preparation of food, the manufacture of clothing, the mining or production of fuel, the transportation of these commodities, and all public utilities. To these industries there are added, in the Knight bill in New York the manu-

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The law creates a "court of industrial relations," composed of three "judges" appointed by the governor to serve a term of three years. The court may intervene in any industrial controversy, either on its own initiative, at the request of either party to the dispute, or on the complaint of ten citizens or of the attorney general of the State. It may investigate the controversy, making a temporary award at the beginning and a final award when the investigation is completed. The award so far as wages are concerned is to be retroactive to the date on which the investigation was begun. If wages are increased in the final award the employees are entitled to back pay. If wages are reduced, the employer is entitled to recover the excess paid in wages since the beginning of the investigation.

LOUIS FERRARI

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The investigations are to be conducted in accordance with the rules of evidence as recognized by the supreme court of the state.

There are certain principles laid down as guide to the court, and presumably for the protection of the parties involved. According to Section 9 labor is entitled to a "fair" wage and capital to a "fair return." This may or may not be modified by Section 8, which stipulates that while all conditions must be "just and reasonable," they must be such as to enable the industries in question "to continue with reasonable efficiency to produce or transport their products or continue their operations and thus to promote the general welfare." Either party may appeal any decision to the supreme court.

No worker may be discharged on account of any testimony he has given before the court, and no employer is to be subject to the boycott or any other discrimination on account of any act performed in accordance with the terms of the law.

Section 14 of the law has some very peculiar provisions. It sets forth that any union that will incorporate shall be recognized by the court of industrial relations as a "legal entity," and may appear before the court "through and by its proper officers." Unions, whether incorporated or not, have the right to bargain collectively, but if the individual members of an unincorporated union wish to avail themselves of this right, they must, each one of them, designate in writing some person, officer of the union or otherwise, as their spokesman.

This action is open to the inference that an unincorporated union would not have a right to appear before the court. It also raises the question of the right of such a union to engage in collective bargaining if every member did not sign a paper designating a spokesman. However, it appears from Section 9 that the right of collective bargaining may after all be an unimportant right. The court of industrial relations has final authority over agreements independently made, and may modify them if it does not find them "fair, just and reasonable."

One hesitates to criticize a project so joyously entered upon as this Kansas enterprise has been, or one in which there is so much confident trust, with respect to its power to remedy evil. But it is being offered as a cure for industrial ills. Communities a thousand miles away from Kansas, and with more at stake, are being told, with all

the assurance of six weeks' experience, that by such means not only industrial quiet, but industrial justice is to be had. The hazards are too great not to examine the molars of this particular gift horse.

The first noteworthy fact is that there are no particular qualifications mentioned in the law that the judges of the court of industrial relations must possess. That is a detail, but it is a rather important detail. Under one governor the judges might all be employers, under another they might be labor leaders, and under a third, men wholly ignorant of industry or its problems.

Limited as the court is by rules of evidence, a common sense inquiry seems to be impossible. Under the rules of evidence a witness is not permitted to give hearsay testimony. While this is an important restriction for the protection of a man accused of crime, it will not assist in understanding the details of a complicated industrial situation. It is very difficult to see how the rules

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of evidence could be applied to such an investigation as the court must carry on, but if they were so applied it is obvious that the investigation would be restricted, legalistic and largely futile.

The law sets no time within which the court is to make its finding, nor is the period within which the award is to run limited. The only way, therefore, by which a revision of the award within a reasonable length of time could be forced would apparently be through the staging of a new controversy in order that the court might again be brought into the situation and be obliged to make a new award. The law, therefore, may serve to make inevitable that very unrest that it is designed to cure.

The section requiring an award to be retroactive is absurd and impracticable so far as it relates to the employees paying back to their employer the excess of wages received in the case of an award depressing their wages. There

is no likelihood that the previous wage paid would be in general high enough to allow the accumulation of the excess either in the form of savings or of property. In other words, the money would have been spent. The collection of these sums by the employer would be highly improbable. However, the existence of this provision in the law will probably be the source of a great deal of trouble. It could undoubtedly be used in the form of persecution, whether its use for any other purpose would be impracticable or not.

The protection the bill seems to throw about the workers is of very doubtful value. In asserting that the wage must be just and reasonable the bill does no more than reiterate what the most reactionary member of the community would admit. There are no standards as a basis for determining justice and reasonableness in the matter of wages. It is certain that the judgment of a court on this question would be an extremely conservative judgment.

There is an assumed protection in the provision that a workman cannot be discharged on account of his testimony before the court. It is well known that laws prohibiting the right to discharge because a man is a member of a union have been held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. There is no reason to believe that this provision would have any better standing in court. But even if it did, it is a protection that amounts to very little. The important thing is that the right to strike is taken away, and the corresponding right of the employer to discharge whom he will with this one minor exception is left intact. The employer then could undermine an organization by discharging its leaders, by discharging every independently minded employee and have the full protection of the court of industrial relations in so doing. He could by this action so intimidate his employees that they would not appeal to the court for protection against low wages and long hours, nor testify against their employer if someone else made the appeal for them.

These are some of the defects of the Kansas law. To point them out, however, is not sufficient. It does not bring us to the heart of the matter. The law is at fault not in details, but as a whole. Its assumptions are unsound, and its purposes run counter to some of the most deeply significant purposes of modern civilization.

Compulsory arbitration is an attempt to forbid by law the continuance of a fundamental and, so long as the present economic order shall stand, an essential controversy. Divergent interests exist and will continue to exist and neither courts nor laws can wipe them out any more than Canute could command the tides. To forbid a group the right to exercise its group strength in the matter of industrial relations is to fasten upon industry a species of servitude. The right of the individual to quit, which is not taken away by the Kansas law, is of small significance if he is not permitted to quit in such a way as to make his act a matter of concern to the industry and hence to make it a factor in the determination of working conditions. He is thereby denied the right to bring pressure to bear on industry to secure for the workers in it better conditions of employment. In his individual freedom to quit he can get such improved conditions only by

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stumbling on them, if he should be so fortunate. He may not, with his fellows, make such conditions for himself.

Nor will the court make them for him, in any degree not sanctioned by the general conception of the dominant group at the time. The court will give him "fairness and justice"—as understood by the court. The judges will be spokesmen for things as they are. They will be appointed to their positions by the powers that be. They will represent the accepted moralities; they will not be pioneers in the search for new conceptions of justice.

This is a matter of very great importance when you consider the true nature of the labor movement. Taken as a whole it is a part of a profound and fundamental struggle, ages old—the struggle upward of the masses of the people. There never has been a time in the entire history of that struggle that the vanguard of the movement was not challenging accepted ethical stand-

ards. There never has been a time when a court, its personnel made up of representative members of the dominant group, would not have ruled against these challengers. When the normal status for labor was slavery a court of industrial relations, honestly dispensing justice according to its lights, would have ruled that slaves must be so fed and housed as to enable them to maintain their strength and their numbers. It would have frowned upon too severe beating, but it would have ordered amputation of the ears, and branding, for those slaves who tried to stir their fellows to revolt.

When serfdom was the natural state, the court would doubtless have granted many reforms if they did not call in question the justice and fairness of the status of the serf. It was only one hundred and fourteen years ago that a Judge in Philadelphia, presiding at a trial of workmen who had combined to improve their conditions, instructed the jury as follows: "A combination of workmen to raise their wages may be considered in a twofold point of view: one is to benefit themselves, . . . the other is to injure those who do not join the society. The rule of law condemns both." The jury found the defendants "guilty of a combination to raise wages."

Slavery, serfdom, conspiracy doctrines—these are, in the main, things of the past. When they existed they were the expression of the conception of "justice and fairness" of the time. Those who led the fight for a different conception were enemies of the social order.

Can anyone say that labor has now arrived at the state to which it is to be permanently assigned? There are still dissenters as there always have been who propose new marches towards a better day. Some of these plans and proposals will find expression in new demands on employers. Whether they are justified by the facts of any given situation or not, is it not reasonably certain that an industrial court dispensing justice as it is currently and generally understood would find them unjust and unreasonable? And thus the court becomes of necessity a barrier to experiments in new standards of justice.

If it is desirable for the state to intervene in the controversy between employer and employee, let us do so by raising the level on which that controversy is to take place. Let there be a point below which there is to be no argument.

Thus at once the bitterest forms of the controversy are made unnecessary. Above that point economic organization should be made freer rather than less free. Voluntary arbitration should be encouraged, and the parties to the wage bargain should both be so strongly organized as to make such arbitration an agency that they may safely use.

WATCHMEN'S UNION.

At the meeting of Watchmen's Union resolutions of condolence were passed and regret expressed at the untimely death of one of its members, D. J. Byrnes, assistant superintendent of the Municipal Auditorium for several years. The members of the organization expressed approval of the action of the executive committee in sending a floral piece that was placed on the casket of the late Brother Byrnes, and ordered that the charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days.

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WHEN ONE MAN STOPS THE GAME.

By the Rev. Charles Stelzle.

Did you ever see a ball game lost because somebody held the ball just a bit too long thus giving the other side a chance to get the necessary runs? I have sometimes seen it in a labor hall.

Things were not going to suit the ideas of a delegate so he deliberately balked. This did not help him or anyone else. He simply had a chance to "stop the game" and he took it. The result was another set-back for the cause of labor in his city.

Of course, the man who "holds the ball" isn't found merely in the ranks of labor—but he is there and that is why we are concerned about the matter. Sometimes he "holds the ball" because he doesn't understand and because he cannot comprehend his opponent he tries to destroy him. He has yet to learn that it is far better to try to understand, and—not to silence his adversary even though his adversary is wrong. If the one who opposes is right, he will win in the end anyway and it is better to lose squarely than to be beaten out because of a stubborn refusal to study the other side of the question under consideration.

When a man makes bold and sweeping statements, they very commonly come from doubt and ignorance rather than from just conviction. The fellow who claims to have a monopoly of wisdom is just as much to be feared in a labor hall as elsewhere. He is more likely to "hold the ball" than the open-minded chap who wants all the facts and who is willing to face the weakness in a particular case in order to get the facts.

It is important in discussing the social questions of the day to remember that we have not yet mastered even the elements of the problems of society. Most of us are quick to suggest remedies which are based upon the examination of a few isolated facts or upon a very limited experience. Actually it is the man with the most limited experience who is always ready to offer the panacea—the cure-all—for every ill.

As a man comes to learn about the many-sidedness of life he becomes less ready to offer plans for saving society. Until the last fact has been brought out we cannot afford to be dogmatic in the labor movement. We must be opportunists—that is, we should be ready to do the next thing, whatever that may be. There are so many factors to be considered that no one man can be infallible. It takes the whole "nine" to win the game.



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WILL LABOR MAKE THE NEXT MOVE

By Morris Llewellyn Cooke.

There are reasons for believing that we are about to see the erection of one of the outstanding landmarks in the history of industry. For the participation of the workers in the management and the administration of production and in the development of a technique for industry, if made both fervent and effective, will undoubtedly cause a larger increase in the output per individual than has resulted per se from either the introduction of machinery or the development of scientific management.

The danger of our present industrial situation lies in the well-nigh universal conviction of impending change. Such a ferment in itself may be wholesome, but it implies leadership if in moving our moorings we are to make a real progress. The public shows no disposition to "settle things" much as it has been importuned to do so. Defensive tactics such as are now for

the most part engrossing the attention of the employing group are incompatible with constructive leadership. The needed move logically is labor's, if labor can be brought to see it, and seeing it, to embrace the opportunity.

Perhaps the most prevalent argument for a new organization for industry grows out of an altogether unavoidable conviction that greater freedom in thought and action must be introduced into industry as it has been into religious matters and to a somewhat lesser extent into our political life. We are becoming more interested in the functions of industry and not quite so much in its institutions. But if industry is to become first less autocratic and then increasingly democratic, it will be through the development of the mechanisms of collective action—"collective bargaining" and that which shall come after. Collective action presupposes collective respon-

sibility. Except in a perfunctory sort of way, for individual output, labor at present entertains no such responsibility. Labor's attitude is at best only observant. Except as to wages, hours and working conditions, labor yields only "passive concurrence." "The wage incentive and other stimuli such as profit sharing do not make the workers feel fundamentally interested in their tasks. If the full productive capacity which is at this time both consciously and unconsciously withheld from society is ever to be released labor must participate in the conduct of industry."

If we could assume that labor is now receiving at least a "fair share" of any increase in production, we could also assume labor's willingness to participate in building up a more efficient industry, simply because labor has more to gain than any other group in the community through a betterment in status. However, a final deter-



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mination as to the fairness of labor's present portion does not appear to be an essential precedent to the adoption by labor for certain purposes of a comprehensive plan for participating in the managerial and administrative phases of the production process.

Labor's attention has recently been directed to the significance of increased production through a realization of the fact that even a large increase in piece rates or week's wages may mean a radical loss in real wages when, as now, such increased wage is accompanied by a lessened buying power for the dollar. A more immediate incentive for labor to make the effort to participate in the onswEEPing development of the science of industry and, in increasing measure, in the management and administration of production is the educational and inspirational value to the individual of such participation. Any system which denies to the individual some part in the "adventure of industry" is doomed. And in

the long run it is demoralizing to such individual to refrain from the fullest participation permitted. Imagine if you can a ball player who does not try to make hits and to avoid errors!

Then there is the tremendous impetus which would be given to the labor movement, reacting favorably on every man and woman included in it, through having labor stand out before the community as not only back of a program of production, but energetically claiming—first through its leaders and ultimately through its rank and file—a responsible part in scheming out and executing such a program. These new contacts would provide the best possible training for the larger responsibilities which will come to labor under any revamping of the present industrial order.

Within the ranks of labor are many who feel that some other system of industrial organization would be much better for society at large than the present one. Accepting this point of view for the sake of the argument it is altogether probable that those who advocate such change in the social structure have everything to gain and nothing to lose through acquainting themselves with the methods which now obtain in the industrial field and by a whole-hearted participation in the development of better methods. Even those of the extreme left who look forward to the time when our present organization is to be completely upset, and who have studiously refrained from any effort toward a better ordered industry, can co-operate on the plan herein suggested.

For a sharp distinction must be made as between the method itself and working under it. We can elect to work fast or slowly whether the method is good or bad, crude or scientific. A highly developed technique for industry does not narrow the opportunities for even extreme methods of warfare such as soldiering or sabotage. Without condoning conduct which is immoral, uneconomic or puerile, it is nevertheless a fact that if the necessities of a certain kind of labor campaigning suggest the advisability of retarding production, or even of stopping it entirely, such action is not precluded because of the fact that under normal conditions, the industry concerned is organized and conducted in a highly efficient manner. The more co-operation and science we have in industry the more delicate become the adjustments and the less the effort required to retard or even to jar it. One can take liberties

with an Ingersoll watch which would put a more delicately adjusted Swiss watch out of business.

While a new and big idea may become a part of our consciousness almost instantly, it usually takes a long time and plenty of work to develop the technique with which to make that same idea effective. In view of all that modern science makes possible, the development of the technique for any industry is no mean task and at best is a matter of years. Practically every industry has the greater part of this development work ahead of it. I know of no industry which can be said to have made more than a good beginning on the probable revisions of its methods. In such industries as coal mining and leather we find relative contentment with conditions that, judged by reasonable standards, are both ineffi-

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cient and abhorrent. In fact, the day of a genuinely effective industry is just dawning.

Organized labor has been moving, perhaps in no very constant or consistent manner, but nevertheless moving in the direction not only of a recognition of its interest in production, but of its obligation to participate broadly in obtaining production. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, recently wrote:

"The trades union movement of America understands fully the necessity for adequate production of the necessities of life. American labor understands, perhaps more fully than do American statesmen, the needs of the world in this hour, and it is exerting every effort to see that those needs are met with intelligence and with promptness. The question of increased productivity is not a question of putting upon the toilers a more severe strain; it is a question of vast and fundamental changes in the management of

industry; a question of the elimination of outworn policies; a question of the introduction of the very best in machinery and methods and management."

At the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor (June, 1919), scientific research was enthusiastically endorsed as "a potent factor in the ever-increasing struggle of the workers to raise their standard of living." As research may well cover process and method, the whole industrial field is thus opened up to labor's interested inquiry.

The size of the task and the need for expert assistance is reflected in the open letter issued by the American Federation of Labor international presidents on December 13th last:

"To promote further the production of an adequate supply of the world's needs for use and higher standards of life we urge that there be established co-operation between the scientists of industry and the representatives of organized workers."

In even more specific fashion the same need was voiced by the Rock Island Arsenal employees in a letter written last summer to the Secretary of War:

"It is our conviction more now than ever before, that before long the opportunity will be ripe to secure outside help in the form of competent management engineers and production experts to advise us as workers what we can do to help improve things, what the management can do and finally what we and the management can do jointly. We are not unaware of our limitations."

The profession of production engineering has fortunately come of age at a time when the public interest is held to be the master test of individual and collective action. But in so far as property on the one hand and organized labor on the other have interests of their own not shared by the general public, the art and science of industrial production will be for some time yet the more efficiently—certainly the more quickly—developed through the co-operation of engineers and other experts practicing a primary allegiance to one of the three contending factors—labor, capital or the public—rather than to all three. In the fields of industrial relations experts representing either side have relatively little trouble in reaching decisions acceptable to both sides. Discontent is almost sure to result from

the findings of individuals attempting to represent interests which are not identical even though they may be mutual.

Certain branches of engineering are not as yet entirely on a factual basis. Policies both of public and of private interest still sway findings and action. Thus valuation of municipal utilities is a highly technical branch of engineering, and yet there are two distinct schools of thought and practice—the one representing the public interest and the other representing the private interests involved. Eminent engineers on the private side quite frequently fix a value on a street railroad, for instance, which is twice as high as that determined by equally eminent engineers representing the public. This ratio has been as high as five to one. Pending the time when the divergencies of principle have been reconciled, prudent engineers usually elect to practice on one side or the other.

Hence it will be well—and altogether in accord with good engineering practice—if labor should

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plan to retain its own production engineers and other technicians, whose scientific knowledge will be required for the development of a better ordered industry. Those of us who seek first the public interest in these matters as well as the industrial experts retained by the ownership of industry will thus be in a position to counsel with informed representatives of labor. The halting character of our progress in building up a democratic and efficient industry is largely due to the fact that the specialists are all on one side. Labor under these circumstances must necessarily step with caution in the light of past history. Every labor organization, no matter what the common or varying views of its membership on social or political matters, should undoubtedly have a division specializing on production and labor's participation in it. While the development of the productive technique of a given industry and the organization of the workers in that industry

are two distinct problems the development of each of them is measurably dependent on the development of the other.

There are without doubt some employers in almost every industry who can easily be led to play a constructive part in any such co-operative campaign to work out the most effective technique possible. Some employers may even be willing to go further and to share completely with labor the discussion of the complexities and perplexities inherent in all industrial enterprise. As a group employers will naturally feel that when the workers do take a more active interest in methods and when they share, to some extent at least, in the responsibility for results, the workers will come to have more respect for the functions of administration, management and planning as contrasted with performing the actual work on the product.

The major motif of industry is to turn out useful goods. Production in ever-increasing measure affords the moral basis for industry. Therefore the labor movement will not achieve its full stature until labor asserts its interest in everything that goes on in industry and assumes a share of responsibility for it. The world's bitter need affords labor its golden opportunity.

And in fact the immediate needs of labor insist that labor seize the opportunity. The employer can afford to await the results of an inevitable period of more or less active depression; depression has always proven to be to the advantage of the employer and to the disadvantage of the workers. But the workers may turn disadvantage to advantage if they meet the approaching storm with a constructive productive policy. Otherwise there may be chaos.

Not even loss of sight can destroy the Yank's unfailing sense of humor. A blind soldier was alighting from a trolley near the Red Cross School for the Blind at Evergreen, on the outskirts of Baltimore, when a sympathetic old lady rushed up.

"My poor man," she cried, "may I help you to alight?"

"No, thanks, ma'am," returned the soldier. "You see," he added confidentially, "I just swore off smokin' for ten days."—American Legion Weekly.

RAISE INITIATION FEE.

The Cooks' Union of San Francisco has decided to increase its initiation fee from five dollars to fifteen dollars, beginning September 1st.

Joseph Bader and Joseph Debool have been elected delegates to the Culinary Workers' convention and the annual convention of the California State Federation of Labor, to be held in Fresno the first week in October.

The union has appropriated \$25 for the purchase of books for the library in the reading room of headquarters.

When trade unionists demand the union label they help put other trade unionists to work. Is this not a union principle worth practicing? Be consistent. Do the thing you know you ought to do. Demand the label always.

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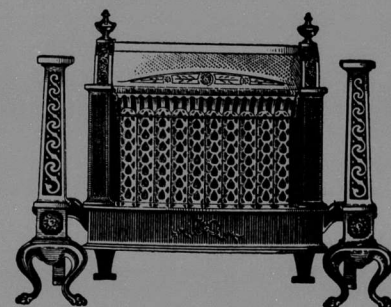
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The Coming Crisis in Europe

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By Richard Caverly.

It is with a profound appreciation of the old saying that the pessimist is the most unpopular man in the world and yet with a realization of present day responsibilities that I say that in my opinion the United States might just as well write down its loans to Europe as war expense, and give up any hope of recovering either principal or interest. Europe is insolvent today, and its appeals for financial assistance should be recognized in this country as appeals for charity. They are not business propositions, and however hard the realization of this fact may hit Americans who already have invested in European loans, it is only fair that the American people should be told the facts.

In a recent address before the Sales Managers' Club of New York, O. P. Austin, statistician of the National City Bank of New York presented the latest figures of world currency, national debts, interest charges and other governmental expenditures, showing that the paper money of the world (exclusive of that issued by the Bolsheviks) had increased from about \$7,000,000,000 at the beginning of the war to \$40,000,000,000 at the date of the armistice, and \$56,000,000,000 at the present time; also that the national debts of the world had grown from \$40,000,000,000 in 1913 to \$265,000,000,000 in 1920, while world credits, another form of inflation, had also enormously increased. Meantime the world's stock of gold available for currency has increased but about \$2,000,000,000.

The ratio of gold to paper currency of the world, he said, which stood in 1913 at about 70 per cent, was at the close of the war 18 per cent, and at the present time approximately 12 per cent. Especially startling was the fact that while the increase in world paper had been \$33,000,000,000 during the war period, the increase since the close of hostilities had been \$16,000,000,000, or about one-half as much in the eighteen months of after-war peace as in the fifty-one months of actual war.

The world's budgets are now approximately five times as much as before the war and the annual interest charges on world national debts now over \$9,000,000,000 per annum as against about \$1,750,000,000 immediately preceding the war.

International finance is in such a condition that big business men and international bankers are compelled to use words which they have always been reluctant to employ. It is unfortunate to have to talk of "insolvency" and "bankruptcy" in speaking of our associates in the late war, but the facts are more unfortunate than the words. It is disastrous that a condition should exist which makes necessary the use of the word "repudiation" in connection with the finances of those countries, but more and more their statesmen and financiers are coming to the realization that repudiation is the only way out. The pres-

ent attempts to fund foreign debts and devise some form of promise to pay that will not upset the present budgets is in substance an attempt to establish receivership certificates. Few men in world-wide contact with actual conditions, uninfluenced by sentiment, really have much hope that the international debts will ever be paid. No country in Europe shows any real sign of getting back to work on a rational basis, and the financial tangle cannot be straightened out until Europe begins to produce and export in large quantity—and repudiation may come first.

Germany's condition is such that even the Allied Governments are coming to admit the

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economic impossibility of the peace treaty—an economic impossibility if ever there was one—and to doubt that Germany ever will be able to pay any of the substantial indemnity on which France, England, Belgium and Italy have relied to put their own financial houses in order; and I only wish to refer to the speeches of English politicians at the time the elections took place after the armistice, when they definitely promised the voters that Germany should be made to pay for the war. On that platform the country voted for the present British Government.

France is in a hopeless situation because it never made any attempt to pay an appreciable part of its war debt by taxation, but slid along in the easy expectation of recovering huge indemnities from Germany and making good its losses in Russia. France's enormous loans to Russia have vanished and the hope of large indemnities from Germany has faded. Germany is not worth over \$50,000,000,000 at a liberal esti-

mate, without allowing for the serious depreciation of its railways and other public utilities, nor for its decreased man-power and wealth-producing territories; and its national indebtedness today is about \$55,000,000,000. Germany is, furthermore, short of raw materials, food and other vital commodities needed not only to sustain its life, but also to reconstruct its fiscal position by increased exports. Without shipping, without trading facilities of any kind, with an enormously increased cost of transportation and an unfavorable rate of exchange, Germany is unable to draw from foreign countries any of the urgently required commodities. As an example, a bushel of wheat which before the war Germany imported at a cost of, roughly speaking, 4 marks, costs today 400 marks; and other commodities which it has to pay for—whether raw material or life's necessities—are on a similar basis of cost.

The interest charges on Italy's national debt are almost as great as its gross national income before the war. Italy has lost its former income from the masses of tourists who visited the country; it has lost its cheap labor, and the cost of importing the raw materials on which it is absolutely dependent has skyrocketed. Where formerly it imported 11,000,000 tons of coal costing in its own currency 20 to 25 lira a ton (four to five dollars), it now has to import just as many tons, and with its present enormously depreciated currency each ton costs from 600 to 700 lira. Naturally, this increases in proportion the cost of transportation, therefore directly affecting the actual cost of other commodities, whether produced in the interior or imported from abroad; and as Italy has also to import great quantities of food and other raw materials for its industries, there is little chance of continuing to do business on this basis. Italy's situation is more or less like that of the other European countries, which are dependent more and more on food and raw materials to be supplied by foreign countries, not only to sustain their own home life, but in order to enable them to export the manufactured articles wherewith to pay for the imported foodstuffs. Add to the increase in prices caused by the fall in Italian exchange the alarming increase in the cost of ocean transport from the United States (from less than two dollars to more than twenty dollars a ton) and Italy's deplorable situation is obvious.

It is not pleasant to discuss Great Britain's plight. People look upon Great Britain as the

most solvent of all European nations, and the thought of British repudiation seems almost sacrilegious. Yet here are the facts as I have deduced them. Before the war Great Britain had \$20,000,000,000 invested throughout the world. Forced sales, shrinkage and other factors have reduced this by 75 per cent, leaving perhaps \$5,000,000,000. Last year Great Britain's income was 2,000,000 pounds per day less than its national expenditure. The British Government is under tremendous expense to maintain the "penny loaf," which costs it 1,000,000 pounds a week, and the expense of maintaining military establishments in Ireland, India, Egypt and elsewhere is enormous. Already its permanent internal interest charges amount to over 370,000,000 pounds (and considerable sums are annually due abroad) as against a pre-war interest charge of 24,500,000 pounds. Computed in relation to the total man-power of the British Isles, the annual interest charge is more than 30 pounds

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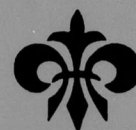
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per man against an average earning capacity of 125 pounds per man. Great Britain's finance ministers merely juggle figures when they say the British budget balances. The imports of Great Britain have increased in value, roughly, from 600,000,000 pounds in 1913 to almost 1,800,000,000 pounds in 1918 (or taking it at a rate of exchange of five dollars to the pound, from \$5,000,000,000 to \$9,000,000,000). A superficial consideration of such data would give the impression that Great Britain had imported, apart from the increase in prices, a great deal for the purpose of increasing the production of its industries, with a view to larger exporting. In connection with that, I need only call attention to the Board of Trade figures from the first of January to the first of December, 1919, which show that while the increase in value of imports has almost quadrupled yet in actual weight the imports had considerably decreased; that is, while in 1913 for a similar period the imports were roughly 50,000,000 tons,

in 1919 they were only about 35,500,000 tons, that is a decrease of nearly 15,000,000 tons in actual quantity. But more staggering still is the discovery that this decrease is mainly in wood and timber, which decreased from 11,000,000 tons to 6,300,000; and in metallic ores, including iron ore, which fell from 8,450,000 tons to 5,770,000 tons. These are the two primary commodities required not only to rehabilitate the decay and destruction consequent to the war.

If my readers think me a pessimist in my statement above honestly written, I might say they class me with one of the most noted financiers of the British Government, Sir E. Mackay Edgar, for on July 17 he, in part, made the following statement:

"An acute crisis is coming soon. We have a magnificent opportunity before us, but in order to seize it, we need two things—industrial peace and financial common sense. The financial and economic policy of the British Government promises neither.

"The inevitable results are already visible. All new enterprises and projects of any magnitude have been brought to an abrupt halt; loans are everywhere being called in; promising ventures are being abandoned, contracts cancelled and negotiations broken off; capital is drawing in, and industry, just when it was getting magnificently into its stride, stands helplessly irresolute.

"We have forewarnings of the coming crisis.

"1. In the leading industries of the country, without any exception, there is a more or less deliberate policy of under-production.

"2. Labor has so insistently increased its demand for wages that industry is working under the quite fatal disability of having to pay a maximum wage for a minimum output.

"3. The transport of the country is still painfully disorganized, partly by the vagaries of the Shipping Control, partly by congestion at the ports, and partly by the difficulties and delays that must necessarily attend a revolution of railroad policy.

"4. The cost of all raw material, of all repairs and renewals, and of all constructional work has risen to such abnormal heights that it takes today anywhere from five to ten times the capital that was required before the war.

"The pressure upon the credit resources of the country is becoming so tremendous that it cannot be borne. Capital is drying up before our

very eyes. The banks simply have not the money to carry on the national industries.

"Unless there is a sharp break in the price of cotton, I predict a period of intense stringency throughout Lancashire before the year is out.

"Events will compel us in the end to recognize that budgets of \$7,000,000,000 are more than we can afford if anything is to be left over for industry; that a fair day's pay only can be given in return for a fair day's work, and that governments which seek to control the operations of demand and supply and to put trade in a bureaucratic strait-waistcoat are either worsted in the encounter or ruin the country by prolonging a hopeless struggle.

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Vacation periods bring the problem of "keeping children off the streets." That this is a community responsibility is made clear in suggested standards for children's play published in "Standards of Child Welfare" by the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor. These standards cover in detail the subject of organized recreation for city children only, but it is hoped that in the near future similar standards will be worked out for rural children, whose need for wholesome recreation under intelligent leadership is as great as the need of city children.

The standards given declare that at least two hours of organized play every day throughout the year are necessary for every child. To insure this, there should be a playground within a quarter of a mile of every child under 6 years of age, one within half a mile of every child over 6, and a baseball field not more than a mile distant from every boy old enough to play on a team. One acre to serve 500 children is advised as a minimum amount of space. This general playground should not be used for games requiring a great deal of space. Baseball, football, tennis and similar games should be provided for by an athletic field containing about 6 acres.

Active play, the standards warn, should be carefully directed, and vigorous games should be followed by quiet ones. Every child over 10 years old should have a chance to play on a team of some sort, and special emphasis on team games for girls is recommended.

Where lack of funds makes it necessary to limit equipment, the standards point out that game supplies such as basket balls, baseballs, bean bags, etc., are more important than fixed apparatus, though swings and a sandbox are essentials for little children.

Leadership is declared to be of fundamental importance and should never be sacrificed to elaborate equipment. Experience has shown that splendidly equipped playgrounds are little used when they lack the inspiration of real leadership, while nearby alleys and streets are crowded with children. The interesting suggestion is made that children be formed into groups of from eight to twelve members "with a gang leader self-selected and self-propagating as in the old neighborhood type of gang."

When trade unionists demand the union label they help put other trade unionists to work. Is this not a union principle worth practicing? Be consistent. Do the thing you know you ought to do. Demand the label always.



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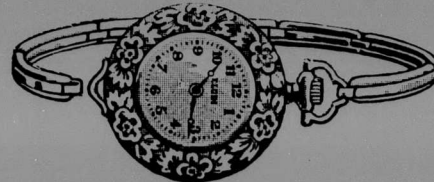
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The One Big Union

By E. H. Misner.

The propaganda spread by the advocates of the O. B. U., very often, if not carefully investigated, causes discontent among those who know very little about the actual workings and achievements of the trade-union movement. Whether we like it or not—whether we believe it will ever become a reality or not—whether we admire some of its aims and objects or not—we must, if we give it the thought it deserves, recognize it is here and must be given consideration. It represents discontent and although not large enough to make much headway at this time, it may, unless met with good argument, become a dangerous factor in the labor movement.

We all must understand that truth cannot suffer because of a few discontents—it is like pure gold, the more it is exposed to the fire the purer it gets. The questions, to the advocates of the O. B. U., as to what are the principles, aims, and objects of this organization, are very seldom answered in a satisfactory way, about all one can get is, a tirade about mistakes, either fancied or real, of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions. He will tell you what he has heard concerning the mistakes of the officers of the American Federation of Labor unions. He will tell you they are either fools or knaves, but he will never give you a practical remedy that will work out for the good of the majority. We may say what we like and complain about what we have not done, but the facts remain that we travel about as fast as the majority, or the so-called "intelligent minority," will permit. A man without a vision does not amount to much in the labor movement, but the facts are that he would soon be useless and alone if he persisted in traveling faster than the majority.

You will find, if you take the trouble to investigate, that most of the advocates have failed to impress the "rank and file," as he loves to call them, with his wonderful abilities. He is very seldom willing to go along, in a humble way, giving his services and good-will, to our cause. He very often gets disgusted and scabs and raises as much hell as he can. That is about all he has been able to do in most cases.

We would like, in a brotherly and kind way, to point out to some of the obstructions, as we

see them, that lie in the path of the O. B. U., and ask whether they have ever considered them and how they hope to overcome them. Many of us have been members of the Knights of Labor, the American Railway Union, and other organizations that have failed and gone into

history. We feel, and we believe we are entitled to our belief, even if they do not suit others, that we know why those organizations failed to live. In the first place, have you ever considered that the majority in the trade-union movement have ideas that are superior to the other fellow who

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This dahlia garden is watered at an average monthly cost of four mills per square yard!

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Without being too precise in your use of water, you can easily keep your dahlia garden growing for 50 cents a month.

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For dahlias, as for other flowers, too much water is as bad as too little.

Use enough water on your dahlias, but don't wash the fertility out of the soil.

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happens to be doing work that does not require the same amount of skill. You will, if you take the trouble to investigate, see the engineer looking down, in his superior way, upon the fireman. He considers himself far superior to those under him. The same is true of other railroad organizations. You will find the molder assuming a position of superiority—the boilermaker looks down upon his helper—the machinist also looks down upon the helper and specialist—the draftsman thinks he is the whole show and the pattern maker feels that he is an artist. This is absolutely true even if we are not willing to acknowledge it.

Of course we find that this feeling is not so strong as it was in the past, but we know that it still remains with us in a large measure and must be reckoned with. We believe that the leveling process is going on and the time will come when we will have more respect for one another than we now have. We are compelled to go along for years ignoring the other fellow—we are crowded together like sardines in a can—we know very little, and care very little, about our neighbor. Many of us have lived next door to the other fellow for years and are not on speaking terms with him. We find that the teachings of Christ, even if some of us do not believe he was the Son of God, have not had the desired effect. We know that Christ would not be received now any more than he was two thousand years ago. All one has got to do, even if you do not believe it is the word of God, read the history and teaching of Christ, and see that they are not accepted by the majority. The philosophy of "Loving your neighbor and enemies," "of doing good to those that despitefully use you and say all manner of evil against you," "turning the other cheek when struck," and many other teachings, does not receive very much consideration. We find a strong desire for revenge in the hearts of those we have wronged, we find that "an eye for an eye" and "a tooth for a tooth" is still very much in evidence. We feel that so long as man feels as he does towards his fellow worker there is very little chance for the O. B. U. When the brotherhood of man becomes a reality, then, and only then will the O. B. U. become a fixed fact.

Again we find so much difference in the government of the thousands of different unions in the American Federation of Labor. We find that different environments and situations cause different laws and views; we believe this is another point against the O. B. U., and so long as these conditions prevail there will be very little change. Talk to the average trade unionist, ask him what he knows about the laws of his own

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union, ask him what he knows about the aims and objects of other unions—the causes of different laws—the conditions demanded by the different unions, and you will find he knows very little and cares less.

These are things that many of the officers of the different unions have considered for years, and many of them will admit there is much room for improvement. We all know that labor is not self-conscious—there is too much of "every fellow for himself and the devil take the hindmost" policy, and there are some very good reasons for it. Many of us have traveled the same roads—have been inclined to listen to the beautiful dreams—have followed the will o' the wisp—traveled the dangerous roads and lived to regret our willingness to go far astray. We know that we must get closer together—we know that men are not inclined to lean on one another only during the time of strike. We know that the fellow who is on strike wants everyone else to get intensely interested in his fight and go along with him. We believe there should be more solidarity in the labor movement. We know that the capitalist is more class conscious than we are and he does not hesitate to help his class whenever called upon. We prate about sympathetic strikes but the facts are that whenever one capitalist is in trouble all the rest of the capitalists rally around him and do all they can to help him; but, oh! what a howl they set up when we pull off a sympathetic strike. We are for all the progress we can get but we are inclined to take it in homeopathic doses. We know that poison, if given in minute doses, will give relief and sometimes cure, but if given in large doses will kill. Very often we take too large a dose and suffer for it, as the many lost strikes will testify.

Many of us remember the time when we believed that the capitalist system would soon topple over with its own weight—we believed it held within itself the germ of destruction—we could see the millennium just around the corner, we were enthusiastic like all new converts; we have, however, after a few years of experience, come to the conclusion that "the race is not always to the swift."

The one thing we must ask ourselves is: What are we doing to make this a better world to live in—how much have we sacrificed for the good of humanity—how much are we going to pay the debt we owe our forefathers. We must understand the only way we can ever hope to benefit others is to give our service willingly. Every man and woman owes a debt to their fathers and mothers, and the only way they can repay it is to do something to better the world and leave it in a better shape than we found it. A man or woman may live for years and accumulate millions of dollars but if they have not done anything to help humanity, they have lived in vain. It is all right to differ with the

other fellow but it is not right to think he is a rogue because he differs with us in some of his ideas. We must consider that he was brought up in a different environment, was surrounded by different conditions—he might not have had the chances you have had—he may not have been as well born as you—he may be weighted down with the sins of others—he may have gone through a different school than you have. We cannot be too charitable with the other fellow; we have gone along long enough with the policy of revenge. We might get along faster if we were a little more considerate with the other fellow. Don't get uneasy, young fellow, if the older men do not allow you to destroy yourself whenever you get some fool notion in your head. Listen to others and you might learn something. Do as Davy Crockett did, "first know you are right and then go ahead." There is an old maxim among railroad men, "don't let go of one hold until you have another." It pays, and many times saves us from destruction. You will find that many great reforms were not willingly accepted by the majority and for that reason one lapped over the other. We find in nature that the building-up process is going on all of the time and that the old is gradually thrown off. Break an egg before the time for it to hatch and death to the chicken is the result. Premature birth of anything is always dangerous and the same is true with organizations. We find that the American Railway Union was drawn into a fight before it was well formed and the consequence was it went down and out. We know how the Railway Federations were defeated because of the lack of knowledge and the newness of the weapon. They did, however, come out victorious afterwards because of the fight. Don't get uneasy if you cannot have everyone accept your ideas immediately but make up your mind to stay on the job and keep it up and, sooner or later, if you are right, you will win.

Personally, I have a lot of sympathy for all progressive movements and know that they do considerable good. I know that the American labor movement will grow and become more

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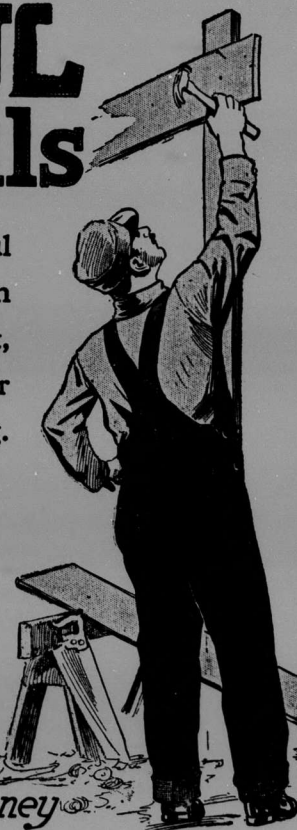
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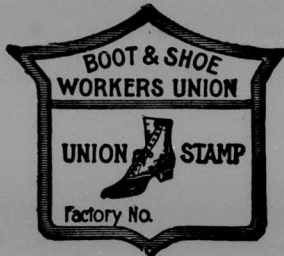
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powerful than it ever was; but I do not believe it will happen over night. I believe we have a rough and rugged road to follow—we may meet with many obstructions, many of the weaker ones will fall in the battle, but, we will win. We cannot lose. Girdle on your armor, my brother; get into the fight; help the other fellow, and we will win. Don't think the other fellow, because he does not agree with all of your ideas, is a rogue; remember, he may, after you know him, be one of your best friends. Let us all be charitable with our fellows, not be too willing to kick a man because he happens to be down.

The new chaplain very much wanted to amuse as well as instruct his men, and, accordingly, on one occasion, arranged for an illustrated lecture on Bible scenes and incidents.

One seaman who possessed a phonograph was detailed to discourse appropriate music between pictures. The first of these represented Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. The sailor cudgelled his brains and ran through his list, but he could think of no music exactly appropriate to the picture.

"Please play up!" whispered the chaplain.

Then an inspiration came to the seaman, and, to the consternation of the chaplain and the delight of the audience, the phonograph ground out, "There's only one girl in this world for me!"—Harper's Magazine.

Ebony Joe, who had inserted his number twelve feet into number nine bright yellow shoes, was struggling up the street, the object of admiration for all his feminine friends and of jealousy for all his masculine ones.

"Dem shoes is miles too small fo' you," stated one of the latter.

"Ah knows dat," replied Joe hopefully, "but dey'll give, dey'll give."

"Give?" sniffed the other. "Dey'll give you de debil."—American Legion Weekly.

When trade unionists demand the union label they help put other trade unionists to work. Is this not a union principle worth practicing? Be consistent. Do the thing you know you ought to do. Demand the label always.

The war destroyed political autocracy. The only potential force that can destroy economic autocracy is the constructive trade union movement. We can never have industrial democracy until we have a strong, compact economic movement.

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LABOR AND PRODUCTION

By W. Jett Lauck,
Formerly Secretary of War Labor Board.

Before the outbreak of the World War there was, and because of stimulated immigration there had been for some years, a surplus labor supply for our basic industries. At the present time there is a shortage of labor. The determining factor as to stability and acceleration of production has, therefore, been reversed. The efficiency of capital and management were the controlling forces before the war. The primary problem to be considered in any future program for industry now centers about the effectiveness of labor.

Difficulty of Present Industrial and Political Problems.

It may be stated without any attempt at sensationalism and without danger of contradiction, that our country is facing today the most complex, dangerous and difficult situation which it has been confronted with since the close of the Civil War. The old order has passed. A new era is before us. In our political and civil life as well as in both business and in industry, we cannot return to the old pre-war conditions, even if we so desired. We have no alternative but on the one hand to hold fast to that which was good in the past, and on the other hand to reach out and grasp the good which has come from the war, and welding the two together to press forward to the readjustment of our political, social and economic conditions.

In standing today on the narrow strait which divides the past from the future, we must, like the Roman god Janus, look backward, but at the same time we must look forward.

The present is no time and there is no occasion for revolutionary action or for untried experiments in government and in industry. This is a time, however, for careful analysis and painstaking consideration of the fundamental aspirations, the underlying principles and the far-reaching ideals, of our democracy, or, in other words, of the self-governing republic which has come down

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to us through the generations. It is the time to take stock of ourselves, and wherever necessary to readjust the conditions of political and industrial life of the present day in the light of the principles and aspirations of the forefathers. If we will take the time to do this, we shall proceed with wisdom. We shall then have a progressive, safe and certain mode of procedure for the future. If we do not do this, we shall invite disaster. We shall intensify existing untoward conditions for which our children shall have to suffer, and for which they shall be pressed to find a remedy.

Existing Menace of Living Conditions.

The greatest menace with which the country is confronted today, not only industrially but politically and socially as well, arises from the pressure of living costs on the great mass of wage earners in the basic industries. This condition of affairs intensifies the more fundamental causes of industrial unrest and the consequent dislocations in industry and recurrent stoppage of work or breaks in the continuity of production. Unless living conditions are ameliorated, widespread industrial conflict may result before proper and safe action can be taken which will afford a basis of procedure for stabilizing industry, accelerating production and guaranteeing industrial peace. The really great danger to the public under present conditions is the extreme attitude, on the one hand, of certain backward employers and legislators who are still evidently doing their thinking on a pre-war basis, and, on the other hand, the extreme agitation of certain labor leaders who are trying to disrupt existing labor organizations and to take away the control of labor from liberal but sane leaders.

Significance of Profiteering

The abnormal conditions created by the war, as were to be expected, greatly increased prices or the cost of living. The withdrawing of men from industrial and agricultural activities to armed conflict, the diversion of industrial facilities to the manufacture of munitions and war essentials, the destruction of capital and commodities and the restriction upon agriculture in the zones of conflict, or, in other words, de-



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struction, restricted production and unproductive consumption, reduced pre-existing stocks of goods and made additional accumulations more difficult, thus bringing about an excess of demand for commodities over the supply available. The net result was scarcity values and constant rises in prices during and since the war. This situa-

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tion has been further affected by the war-time inflation in money and credit and in the deterioration of our transportation facilities from the great stress which four years of war operation had put on the railroads.

These have been the underlying, the real determining and unavoidable causes of higher prices for all classes of commodities. While they would have been followed by distress and some elements of unrest among industrial workers, they would undoubtedly, other things being equal, more or less philosophically have been accepted as one of the fortunes of war, and the attempt made to overcome them by productive effort. In the meantime, however, it has been discovered that producers, speculators and distributors have seized upon the scarcity or abnormal conditions which prevailed during the war, and which came out of the war, to exact exorbitant prices and to obtain indefensible and dishonorable profits. Although the exaction of illegitimate profits, or, to use the more common phrase, "profiteering," has not been a basic but a secondary cause of high prices, it has developed a condition of affairs fraught with the greatest significance, for the reason that it is apparent that profiteering must be eliminated before there can be any hope of getting the productive factors in industry together in a co-operative way. This is an essential condition to the acceleration of production or to a return to normal production and normal price conditions.

The Condition to Increased Productivity of Labor.

So long as profiteering exists labor cannot be induced to increase its output. Contrary to the general impression, the economic status of labor in our basic industries was impaired by the war. With some few exceptions, wage rates failed to keep pace with the advances in the cost of living. Where rates of pay were actually raised to the point of increased prices, as in the iron and steel industry, it meant merely the perpetuation of entirely inadequate standards of living which prevailed before the war. As a rule, however, the deplorable earnings or standards of living of the great mass of industrial workers before the war were not maintained during the war. With the termination of hostilities all government control of industry was abandoned and the hope, which had been based on the obligation of the government to adjust conditions, disappeared. The wage earner was left to shift for himself. Employees in many basic industries undoubtedly felt deeply this situation, and the post-war discontent and lack of co-operation was thus started.

This situation was soon intensified by a still more disturbing influence. Every attempt since the armistice on the part of industrial workers to improve their unfortunate status was met with the claim that to advance rates of pay would be equivalent to increasing prices, and starting another step in the so-called "vicious circle of the increasing cost of living." This soon developed into a distinct propaganda and misrepresentation of labor. The public thoughtlessly gave this pro-

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paganda its sanction. Industrial unrest and agitation was further intensified. Wage earners, as a class, felt that aspersions were being cast upon their character and patriotism during the war. They also became very sensitive to the fact that all classes of profiteers were pointing to labor as being responsible for the disgraceful robbery of the public.

Mining and Railroad Strikes

Caught in this way between the upper and the lower millstones, so to speak, their endurance reached the breaking point. Wages continued to fall further behind skyrocketing prices. Men refused to continue work in certain industries as on the railroads and in the mines. The bituminous coal miners' strike was a reflection of these conditions. The recent country-wide railroad strike was a voluntary expression of this attitude by many classes of employees. Men with long years of service and accompanying seniority and other rights suddenly, against the protest of Brotherhood and union leaders, stopped work or left the railroads, to enter other industries. The inadequacies of railway wages are now the fundamental cause of restricted transportation facilities. The same conditions prevail in some of our other industries. Unless they are corrected no one can tell what the result may be. Under-paid men are a menace from a social and political as well as an industrial standpoint. Under these conditions, in brief, it has become evident that if conservative and enlightened leadership in the labor movement is to continue, industrial workers must not only secure financial relief, but labor also must be freed from the charge of profiteering which had been dishonorably placed upon it. By the same analysis, it is equally and perhaps more significantly true that the production of which we are in such grievous need cannot be secured until labor is assured that its increased productive efficiency will not be absorbed by profiteers. If labor can be shown that increased production will be followed by lower prices, or in other words, greater real wages, one of the greatest obstacles to maximum production will have been eliminated.

Waste and Extravagance.

In addition to the impairment of industrial morale, probably the next greatest contributing factor to the untoward economic conditions which have followed the war is the wide-spread waste and extravagance among all classes of the people. Its elimination is obviously necessary to our economic regeneration. It has been caused primarily by improper concentration and accumulation of wealth since the beginning of the war, and had its origin and derives its primary impetus at present in the lavish expenditures of war-made and post-war-made millionaires. Their example has been contagious. Those who should have known better have set the example. It has spread to all classes of the population. Extravagance and waste among or excessive demands by industrial workers cannot be checked so long as profiteering producers and distributors are lavishly dissipating the wealth which they illegitimately obtained during the travail and grief of our people.

A necessary preliminary, therefore, to all other measures—as a matter of fact, the first step in the process of reconstruction and stability and acceleration of production—is the stopping of

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profiteering. There can be no permanent hope or program until profiteering is eliminated. Because of the pressure of the high cost of living, the profiteer has not only become an obstacle to the resumption of normal industrial activities but an actual industrial and social menace as well.

Need for Co-operation Between Employers and Employees.

With the allaying of discontent arising from profiteering and unjustifiable prices, a more fundamental evil must also be rectified before there can be any satisfactory degree of stabilization and continuity in production. The fact cannot be missed that industry is in the same position that our failure to accept the Treaty of Peace has forced upon the nations of the world. There is no accepted basis of procedure. Employers and employees, as a whole, are actually or potentially at war with each other. The conditions affecting one principle effective to productive co-operation need only be mentioned in order to illustrate the present impossible situation—the principle of organization and representation of industrial employees. The union labor movement demands recognition as a preliminary to co-operation. A large group of employers are attempting to evade union recognition by the formation of shop committees and the application of various local schemes of employees' representation. Another large body of employers wish to maintain an industrial autocracy without recognition to their employees on any terms. And thus the conflict and friction extends throughout the whole range of industrial relations and conditions. Under these conditions, if industry is not headed for disaster, thoughtful students at least cannot see any earnest of successful productive effort in the future.

Shortly after the signing of the armistice, industrial conferences were assembled under the auspices of the governments of Great Britain and the Dominion of Canada, and certain underlying principles relative to industrial relations were accepted by labor and capital as a basis of industrial procedure. A similar effort was made in this country, but without success. It was found impossible to secure an agreement between employers and employees. It then became evident that whatever action was taken would have to come from the public, and in accordance with this conclusion, a second conference was called last winter by President Wilson, composed entirely of eminent representatives of the public. The report of this body has been made, embodying certain principles which they have sanctioned as essential to industrial progress, economic justice and the public welfare. The conference has also recommended machinery for the adjustment of industrial disputes. Senator Kenyon, chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, has also introduced a joint resolution providing for the establishment of joint boards for the adjustment of industrial controversies together with regulatory principles or a code which shall be mandatory upon these boards in reaching their decisions. The Senate Committee is now holding hearings and considering both Senator Kenyon's plan of pro-

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cedure and the report of the President's Second
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Necessity for an Industrial Code.

The permanent hope for the future, not only to those directly engaged in industry, but also to all other classes of our people, lies in wise, constructive, industrial statesmanship and action by the Congress along the lines which have already been placed before Senator Kenyon's Committee. Increased production has become a national necessity if we are to maintain American standards of living, pay the vast debt incurred as the result of the war, insure our domestic tranquility and discharge our international obligations. Obviously, we cannot hope to restore a normal production, to say nothing of attaining maximum production, so long as there is constant irritation and friction, with frequent economically disastrous conflicts between capital and labor. To promote and to preserve industrial peace, therefore, to insure equal and exact justice to both elements in industry and to safeguard the public interests as well, the Congress of the United States should enact at once an industrial code wherein there shall be defined and promulgated the fundamental principles which shall govern the relations of capital and labor with respect to:

1. The right of both labor and capital to organize;
2. The right of labor to a living wage;
3. The right of capital to a fair return;
4. The right of collective bargaining;
5. The right of labor to a voice in the control of industry;
6. The requiring of both labor and capital to fulfill their contractual obligations;
7. The hours of labor;
8. The rights and relations of women in industry;
9. The right of the public to be protected against economic disturbances, threatening the general welfare, which result from disagreements and conflicts between capital and labor.

Such an industrial code, together with the creation of the machinery necessary for the determination and adjustment of industrial disputes upon the basis and by the application of the

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principles enunciated in the code, will go far toward stabilizing industry in all lines.

Its enactment can be brought about only through a compromise of the selfish demands and contentions of both capital and labor, and that compromise must be affected on the basis that the public interest overshadows any group interest. Opposition to such legislation may be expected from both elements in industry, and this opposition will probably be predicated on the theory that we should have the least possible governmental interference with business and industry. The plan contained in the Court of Industrial Relations, as passed recently by the Kansas legislature, is unacceptable because it forces compulsory adjustments without any safeguards to capital and labor. The labor provisions of the Esch-Cummings bill relative to railroad disputes furnishes a more acceptable precedent, because they afford a more or less imperfect code or standard for the voluntary adjudication of controversies by a specified mode of procedure. A more comprehensive underlying set of principles or standards, together with a series of joint industrial boards, culminating in a national labor board for the interpretation and

application of the fundamental law, the code, or the industrial bill of rights—by whatever term it may be called—is essential to an orderly and reconstructed industry. Without such action, there can be but small hope for industrial stability, continuity, or the productiveness which is so greatly needed.

New Conception of Industry.

Thoughtful men will undoubtedly agree that the sentiment of this country and of the world is for progress along the lines suggested. Not the least beneficial result of the world war has been the exploding of a number of age-old aphorisms. One such exploded aphorism is that one to the effect that the best form of government is that which governs least—the Gibraltar of the advocates of the doctrine of laissez-faire. The phenomena of profiteering alone demonstrate the danger of letting the individual alone—giving him a free hand—for we have seen that too often it makes a freebooter out of him; and there is no place in orderly society for freebooters.

Such a general program as has been outlined would not only reduce prices and profiteering, and bring about relief from the high cost of

living, but would also be in accord with the attitude of the general mass of the people toward business and industry which has been a distinct outgrowth of the war. There can be no doubt that a new conception of industry has been formed by labor and by a large part of the general public. Prior to the war, industry was being conducted primarily for profit, the theory being that by competition and by the free play of economic forces, the greatest advantage to the greatest number—labor, capital and the public—would be accomplished. On the other hand, during and since the war, the idea has been gaining ground and growing in force and acceptance, that in reality industry is a social institution. In its most conservative form this idea finds expression in the claim that industry should not be conducted in a spirit of relentless, economic, self-interest for profit, but while the stimulus of profit should be retained and the fundamental rights of labor and capital should be protected and conserved, industrial promotion, expansion and operation should also be a social service and subordinated at least to democratic ideals and institutions, and to the general welfare of the people.

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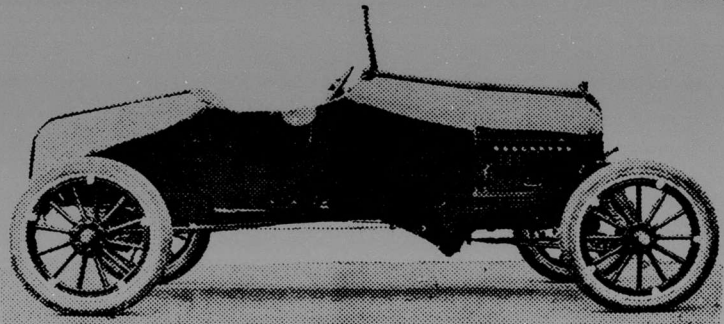
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INCREASE IN RAILROAD RATES

Herein is a statement regarding the effect of the increase in transportation rates granted by the Interstate Commerce Commission upon prices and cost of living, by W. Jett Lauck, consulting economist for the railroad labor organizations in their recent case before the Railroad Labor Board. Mr. Lauck's statement was as follows:

What the public ought to know is that there would have been no occasion for such a large advance in railroad rates provided the railroads had been and were now efficiently and economically managed, provided the water were squeezed out of railroad securities, and provided the railroads were not themselves the victims of the profiteers in railway equipment, steel

and iron products, lumber, coal, oil, etc., to the extent of four or five hundred million dollars per year, as shown by our investigation. Still, there is no occasion for alarm in the prospect of an addition of a billion and a half dollars to the annual transportation bill of the country, provided this item is not multiplied four or five times before it is presented to the people for payment. For instance, by no possible computation can the increased freight rates be made to justify an increase of one cent per pound in the price of meat to the consumer, or an increase of five cents per pair in the price of shoes, or an increase of ten cents in the price of a suit of clothes; or an increase of one-fourth of one cent in the price of a loaf of bread.

However, the survey of basic industries made preliminary to the presentation of the case before the Railroad Labor Board showed that manufacturers, middlemen and speculators invariably doubled, trebled or quadrupled increases in labor and other cost items and passed them on to the public, and it is not unreasonable to assume that they will attempt the same profitable process in dealing with the increase in transportation costs. Hence the public should be informed and the forces of government should be on guard to see that no unjustifiable burden is imposed on the people as a result of the Interstate Commerce Commission's solution of the financial problem of the railroads.

An added annual charge of \$15 per capita or \$75 per family seems large, but as a matter of fact the increase in railroad rates will not mean that much as a direct charge to the individual or to the family. A substantial part of the revenues of the railroads comes from freight on exports, and in that case the increase will be paid entirely by purchasers of those exports in other countries. There is also the very con-

siderable item of the freight on materials and products of all kinds bought by the Federal, State and municipal governments which is paid through taxation.

Coal is one commodity the price of which will be directly and appreciably increased by the advance in freight rates, the increase ranging from 75 cents to \$1.35 per ton, but even that does not make a very great difference in the annual budget of the average family.

The increase in freight rates should have no appreciable effect on the prices of the vast majority of things which the ordinary consumer purchases. This is so far the reason that, in the case of almost all ordinary commodities, the cost of transportation is at present such a negligible

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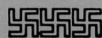
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item in their selling price that an increase of even 40 per cent in freight rates would be an unimportant addition.

This fact is brought out clearly when an analysis is made of the selling prices of almost any commodity in relation to the cost of transportation of such commodity. Thus, in the average household budget, meat constitutes one of the most important items of expenditure, the average family consuming about 400 pounds of meat per year. In 1919, the average wholesale price of meat in Eastern cities was about 21 cents per pound, and the average retail price almost twice this much. At the same time, the freight rate per pound for a haul of 1000 miles, which is well above the average haul, was less than seven-tenths of one cent. Even when liberal allowance is made for the other transportation costs entering into the final price of meat, such as the hauling of the cattle to the slaughter-house, the hauling of feed for the cattle, etc., it seems clear that the total transportation costs in a pound of meat is at present not over 2 cents. A forty per cent increase in freight rates, therefore, would add less than one cent per pound to transportation costs, and, at the maximum, should add no more than the same amount to the retail selling price.

In the case of a bulky commodity, such as flour, the freight costs would be somewhat higher than in the case of meat, but even in this extreme case a 40 per cent increase in freight rates should add comparatively little to the cost of manufacturing flour and placing it on the market. Thus, in 1919, the freight charge for hauling a barrel of flour from Minneapolis to Philadelphia was only 84 cents, with flour selling at about \$14.00 per barrel. A 40 per cent increase in freight rate would therefore add, as a maximum, only 33 cents to the legitimate cost of a barrel of flour carried from Minneapolis to Philadelphia.

Similar conditions exist in the case of clothing. In 1919, the freight rate on a \$50 suit of clothes for such an unusually long haul as from Chicago to Los Angeles was only 22 cents. An increase of 40 per cent in freight rates should add less than 9 cents to transportation costs, and should add only that amount, as a maximum, to the cost of a Chicago-made suit of clothes in Los Angeles, California. Again, in 1919, the freight rate on a \$10 pair of shoes from Boston to Key West, Florida, was only 5.7 cents per pair. Thus an increase of 40 per cent in freight rates would add less than 2½ cents to the cost of a Boston-made pair of shoes in Key West, Florida.

Even in the case of such luxuries as phonographs and pianos, the situation is not very different. Thus, in 1919, the freight rate for trans-

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porting a phonograph retailing at \$150, from New York to Atlanta, Georgia, was only \$2.85. An increase of 40 per cent in freight rates would add only \$1.14 to the cost of a New York-made phonograph in Atlanta, Georgia. For hauling such a bulky and awkward object as a piano all the way across the continent, the freight charge in 1919 was \$28.00. Thus an increase of freight rates of 40 per cent should add not over \$11.20 to the cost of a New York piano in San Francisco.

The cases above cited are rather extreme, in that the average haul is probably very much less than those mentioned as examples, and the freight charge is therefore considerably less. For instance, while Minneapolis is the center of the flour milling industry, much flour is ground locally and often not subject to transportation by train at all.

The conclusion thereof seems inevitable that while the increased freight rates will place an added burden upon the consumer, this burden will not be very heavy, provided prices of commodities are raised no more than necessary to compensate for the increased freight rates. This conclusion is fortified by the fact that, in 1919, the total value of all commodities transported by freight was \$119.00 per ton, whereas the average freight charge per ton was only \$2.80, or less than 2½ per cent of the value. An increase of even 40 per cent in freight rates would therefore add less than 1 per cent to the average value of the total freight carried.

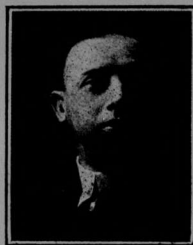
However, there is a solution of the problem that would involve no additional burden to the general public. The increase in freight rates, it has been estimated, will amount to \$1,200,000,000 a year. Even this large amount is insignificant as compared with the excess profit now being exacted by the basic industries, and could easily be absorbed by them out of these profits without any increase at all in prices.

In the data on profiteering presented by the railroad brotherhoods to the Railroad Labor Board, it was shown that the corporations of the country were making excess profits to the extent of at least \$4,800,000,000 annually. That is, these companies were making this huge amount over and above the normal profits which they made in pre-war years. These figures were

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for the year 1918, and it was proved that in 1919 and 1920 even larger profits were being made.

In other words, the great industries of the country could amply afford to deduct the increased freight charge from the price of their products, thus allowing the commodity to reach the retailer at the same price as formerly. By so doing, they would be reducing their excess profits less than one-fourth, and would still have left their full normal profit and three-fourths or more of the excess profit which they are now making.

The figures on which this statement is based are those published by the companies themselves in the recognized financial manuals. The earnings of a large group of over 200 representative industrial corporations were analyzed for the seven-year period, 1912 to 1918, inclusive. For the pre-war period, 1912-1914, the average annual net income of the entire group was \$433,663,427. During the war years of 1916, 1917, and 1918, these same companies made an average annual net profit, after paying all war and other taxes, of \$1,234,359,688, an excess of approximately \$800,000,000 per year over the pre-war earnings.

Based upon figures reported by the Treasury Department this group comprised about one-sixth of the total corporate income of the country. As they were not selected in any way and were fairly representative of industry as a whole, it is entirely fair to assume that the aggregate of excess profits made by all corporations was at least six times the amount shown, or \$4,800,000,000.

A further study of profits for the year 1919 showed that 127 of these companies which had issued reports made \$740,391,243 in that year, as compared with \$619,373,699 in 1918. At the time this latter analysis was made all of the corporations formerly included in the compilation had not issued reports. A still further study of current profits which are published in financial journals from week to week leaves no doubt that profiteering in 1920 is even more flagrant than formerly.

The above by no means constitutes the full extent of the survey of profits. The whole subject of the costs of production and distribution, of margins, prices, and profits was gone into from every angle. Each industry was analyzed separately and individually, and the exact amount of excess profit being made on practically all of the principal commodities was displayed. The study proves that high wages are largely an effect, rather than a cause, of high prices, and it is shown that fully one-half of the increase in prices is due to excessive and unjustifiable profits.

It is also plain that profiteering is not confined to any particular industry or group of industries, but has extended into practically all lines. It would be an easy matter to take up each article or commodity separately and show that the increase in freight could be added to its cost of production and still an ample margin left between the cost and selling price to afford an exorbitant profit to the producer.

But the figures above cited show this in a concrete way and cover the whole field. Any child can understand that an increased transportation charge of \$1,200,000,000 can be deducted from an excess profit of \$4,800,000,000 without any necessity for an advance in price and with no injury to industry.

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The most virile movement in political life today is the National Non-Partisan Campaign being conducted by the American Federation of Labor. Eloquent testimony to that effect is heard wherever the political situation is intelligently discussed. There is no mistaking the influence which is being exerted for the defeat of candidates who have shown themselves to be antagonistic to the best interests of the working people and to our citizenship generally. The records show that in the primary elections which have been held thus far, the national non-partisan political organization of labor has played a decisive part in more than fifteen contests. In that many districts those who have been hostile

or unfriendly have been defeated. A number of primary elections remain to be held and in these there is certain to be additional achievement for the welfare of our people.

Three months remain before the final day of the present political struggle and these three months will constitute the vital portion of the campaign period. The issues of the campaign are now in full before the people everywhere. The records of candidates for the Senate and for the House of Representatives have been sent to all labor organizations throughout the country. The political party platforms have been written and labor's analysis of them has been placed before the people. By comparison of the records the voters everywhere may determine whom to support and whom to defeat. There is no ambiguity about the records of either candidates or parties.

Politicians who fear retribution at the hands of an outraged electorate have made the charge that labor in some cases has abandoned its non-partisanship and has become partisan. But in no sense is this true. There is no labor vote to be delivered and there is no labor partisanship to any political party. There is, however, a vote of working men and women and of those citizens generally who are forward looking and who are determined to guard the principles of freedom and justice, who will vote more unitedly than ever before for the retirement of those who have betrayed the trust placed in them and for the election of those whose principles and records indicate that they may be trusted to uphold the rights of the people in public office.

The interest that has been manifested in labor's non-partisan campaign surpasses anything ever known in an American political effort. In response to suggestions from the National Campaign Committee local unions, central bodies and State federations throughout the country have appointed campaign committees and these in turn have formed compact central organizations through which the efforts of all might be organized and co-ordinated for the purpose of securing the most favorable results.

It has recently been requested that local labor campaign committees hold congressional-district meetings for the purpose of more effectively organizing the work in each congressional district. Out of close co-operation of this character much good is certain to result.

In order to further increase the enthusiasm and the effectiveness of the campaign work the National Campaign Committee has requested that the executive councils of all State federations of labor be called together in special sessions at an early date. The purpose of these meetings is to make clear the program in each State and to harmonize and organize all efforts with one object in view.

The staff which has been organized by the National Campaign Committee at American Federation of Labor headquarters in Washington is giving every possible assistance to local campaign committees, and there should be no hesitancy on the part of any local committee in asking for such counsel and assistance as may

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be deemed necessary. One of the most encouraging features of the entire work of the campaign thus far has been the tremendous demand for literature published by our National Committee. It has been impossible to keep abreast of this demand, largely owing to difficulty in securing sufficient quantities of white paper, but every effort is being made to meet as fully as possible the needs in this direction.

It will be noted that in this issue of the American Federationist the platform planks on labor's proposals are published as they appear in the Democratic and Republican platforms, together with the comment of labor thereon. The intelligence of the American people will lead them to determine which platform more nearly conforms to their desires and which expresses more nearly their ideals and aspirations toward freedom, justice and democracy.

The forces of greed and plunder, the profiteers and the autocrats of our political and industrial life leave no doubt as to what they desire and where they will mass their support.

The challenge of these forces to the citizenship of the Nation is brazen and blunt. That the right thinking men and women of our Republic can afford to allow this challenge to reap a harvest of political power in the coming election is unthinkable. More than in any political contest since the days of the Civil War the issue is clearly drawn between reaction and progress. The wish of the enemies of labor and of the people generally is not merely to stand pat for what is; it is to go back to what was.

Against this concept of darkness the people must mass themselves solidly and invincibly for progress. There burns in the hearts of the American people a great and noble ideal. The spirit that made of our war a great crusade and that made of our wonderful army a host of crusaders sworn to fidelity to human rights and human freedom lives in everything that is truly American and demands expression in the acts of our public representatives and of our Government.

In wanton denial of this nobility of thought and concept the Hessians of greed and plunder seek to ride down the rights of the people and destroy their liberties. The enemies of labor have given to their servants the mandate that labor must be crushed, its rights denied and its liberties destroyed.

With the freedom of the working people the whole destiny of democracy as understood in American life is involved and entwined. If labor could be turned back from its onward march the great torch of liberty would cease to burn for the millions.

The masses of the working people of the Nation understand the great issue that faces them. The one supreme issue is whether liberty shall live. Profiteering, the denial of free speech and free press, the despotic use of the injunction—all of these are manifestations of the same determination, the same drive to crowd labor back from the road of progress and to take out of millions of homes that light which has come into them as the harbinger of a higher and better civilization.

Let Americans make no mistake about what is involved in this campaign. Let no man or woman take lightly the duties involved. Let none undervalue by a fraction the solemn obligation that is laid upon all to bring decisive defeat to enemies of human progress and to crown with victory the candidacies of those who stand as friends of liberty and justice and progress.

The dim eyes of the helpless are upon the hosts of labor in this great struggle. May the manhood and the womanhood of America vindicate now the hopes and the truths out of which our great Nation had its birth.

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San Francisco Labor Council

Synopsis of Minutes of the Regular
Meeting Held August 27, 1920.

Meeting called to order at 8 p. m. by President
Bonsor.

Roll Call of Officers—All present.

Reading Minutes—Minutes of the previous
meeting approved as printed in the Labor
Clarion.

Credentials—San Francisco Federation of
Teachers—Miss S. A. Corpstein. Retail Clerks—
F. M. Kiernan, vice Mark Beerman. Sheet Metal
Workers No. 104—D. J. White, D. J. Cavanaugh,
W. Coleman, Jos. Murray, Phil Bahr, A. E.
Barth, G. Lorenzini. Delegates seated.

Communications—Filed—From the Musicians'
Union, relative to complaint against Alfred Ron-
covieri; officers of Council will be present at said
meeting to hear complaint. From Pavers' and
Rammermen's Union, relative to the wages of
both organizations.

Referred to Executive Committee—Wage scale
of Photographic Workers. From United Leather
Workers No. 97, requesting a boycott on the
Pacific Luggage Factory. From the American
Federation of Labor, with reference to copies of
proceedings of the last convention. From Butch-
ers No. 115, relative to its controversy with
employers. From Electrical Workers No. 537,
requesting Council to remit per capita for the
period of six months.

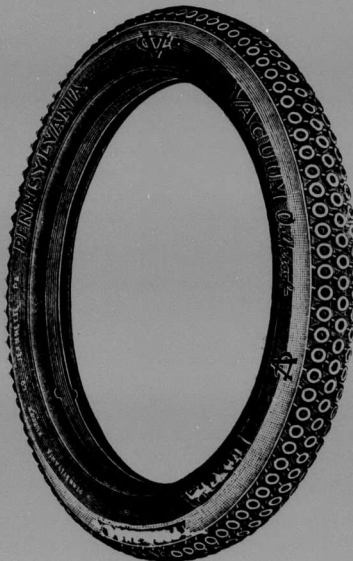
Referred to Financial Secretary—From Sugar
Workers' Union, with reference to its member-
ship.

Request Complied With and Referred to Dele-
gates to State Federation Convention—From
Street Carmen of San Francisco and Oakland,
requesting Council to endorse an eight-hour day
for all Street Carmen throughout the State.

Referred to Labor Clarion—From the office
Superintendent of Schools with reference to the
new Part-Time Education Act. Report of
Trustees.

Referred to Law and Legislative Committee—
Supervisor McSheehy, presented a proposed
charter amendment.

Reports of Unions—Piano-Organ Workers—
Requested assistance in settling difficulties with
the firms of Wurlitzer and Clark-Wise com-
panies. Photographic Workers—Will give a
dance on September 25th; requested trade union-
ists to refrain from patronizing Hartsook and
Novak studios. Bottlers—Are having difficulty
in negotiating wage scale with employers; de-
sires the Council to assist. Retail Clerks—Are
having difficulty with employers on new agree-
ment; requested a demand for the union card



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when making purchases. Retail Delivery Drivers—Reported the Jewel Tea Company still unfair.

Executive Committee—In the matter of the controversy between the Grocery Clerks and several stores, the matter was laid over to enable the contending parties to get together and have same adjusted. In the matter of resolution from the Machinists' Union, with reference to the Soviet government of Russia and the use of the general strike to assist the Russian government in its endeavor to prevent the United States from assisting the people of Poland, committee recommended that the resolution be filed. Report of committee concurred in.

Law and Legislative Committee—Recommended that the Council indorse the Community Property Bill; amendment, that the report be filed; amendment carried, 70 in favor, 51 against.

Auditing Committee—Reported favorably on all bills and warrants were ordered drawn for same.

Election of Delegates to State Federation Convention—The Election Committee reported the result of the balloting as follows: John Beckmeyer, 65; D. P. Haggerty, 219; Geo. A. Tracy, 191. Total vote cast, 246; 8 ballots void. Delegates Haggerty and Tracy declared elected to represent this Council.

Moved that the compensation for delegates be \$150.00; amendment, that the subject be referred to the Executive Committee; amendment carried. Receipts—\$180.60. Expenditures—\$1,887.45.

Council adjourned at 10:30 p. m.
Fraternally submitted,
JOHN A. O'CONNELL, Secretary.

San Francisco, Aug. 26, 1920.

To the Officers and Delegates of the San Francisco Labor Council.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—

We, the undersigned Board of Trustees, having examined the books of the Secretary-Treasurer, find them correct and submit the following report:

Total Cash in Banks

Anglo-California Bank.....\$3,434.11
Mission Bank 294.36

Outstanding checks \$3,728.47
..... 92.77
\$3,635.70

Receipts for June.

Dues\$1,627.00
Refunds 57.62
Label Section 35.52
Metal Trades 1,813.40
Miscellaneous 27.37

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245 Harriet St. San Francisco

Emporium Fund 150.00

Total \$3,755.91

Disbursements.Salaries \$ 716.25
Printing 9.75
Literature 30.00
Telephone, Telegrams 37.54
Donations 47.50
Label Section 35.52
Miscellaneous 11.50
Metal Trades 1,813.40
Emporium Fund 60.25

Total disbursements \$2,761.71

Recapitulation.On hand June 1st, 1920 \$2,641.50
Receipts for June 3,755.91

Total receipts \$6,397.41

Total expenses 2,761.71

Balance on hand, July 1st, 1920 \$3,635.70

Respectfully submitted,

J. W. SPENCER,

CHAS. S. CHILD,

DANIEL P. HAGGERTY,

Trustees.

San Francisco, Cal., Aug 20, 1920.

To the Officers and Delegates of the San Francisco Labor Council.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We, the undersigned Board of Trustees, having examined the books of the Secretary-Treasurer, find them correct and submit the following report:

Total Cash in Bank.Anglo-California Bank \$3,121.74
Mission Bank 294.36

\$3,416.10

Outstanding checks 328.29

Total \$3,087.81

Receipts for July.Dues \$1,764.00
Refund 100.00
Label Section 38.50
Label Section Per Capita 8.41
Cigar Makers 300.00
Emporium Fund 120.00

Total \$2,330.91

Disbursements for July.Salaries \$ 575.00
Printing 3.00
Literature 30.00
Telephone and Telegrams 14.50

JAS. J. LEARY, Pres.

DAN B. DWYER, Sec.

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540 VALENCIA STREET
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|--|-------------------|
| Label Section | 46.91 |
| Refund | 58.00 |
| Expenses | 101.05 |
| Cigar Makers | 300.00 |
| Emporium Fund | 22.25 |
| San Francisco Labor Council Hall Assn. | 1,728.00 |
| | \$2,878.80 |

Funds.

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| Labor Council | \$ 791.29 |
| Hall Assn. | 1,705.50 |
| American Alliance | 49.48 |
| Emporium Funds | 541.54 |

Total Funds\$3,087.81

Recapitulation.

| | |
|------------------------------|------------|
| On hand, July 1st, 1920..... | \$3,635.70 |
| Receipts for July..... | 2,330.91 |

| | |
|----------------------|------------|
| Total receipts | \$5,966.61 |
| Total expenses | 2,878.80 |

On hand, Aug. 1st, 1920.....\$3,087.81

Respectfully submitted,
J. W. SPENCER,
CHAS. S. CHILD,
DANIEL P. HAGGERTY.

JOINT LABOR DAY COMMITTEE.

Minutes of Meeting Held Saturday Evening,
August 28, 1920.

Meeting called to order at 8 p. m., Union Hall,
Labor Temple, by Chairman Bonsor.

There were two bids received for the conces-
sion at the Exposition Auditorium on Labor Day.
On motion, the Committee of Arrangement was
instructed to accept the highest bid.

Committee elected the following officers of
the day and to preside over the celebration:

Chairman—P. H. McCarthy.

Secretary—John A. O'Connell.

Floor Manager—Dan White.

Assistant Floor Manager—Geo. W. Desepte.

To select a band leader to furnish the music
for the celebration, the names of all the dele-
gates of Musicians' Union No. 6 were put in a
hat and one slip taken out by Bro. Dan Cavan-
augh, who drew the name of John D. Hynes.

On motion the meeting adjourned to meet at
the call of the chairman. Adjourned at 8:50 p. m.

Fraternally submitted,

JOHN A. O'CONNELL, Secretary.

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PACIFIC SERVICE ASSOCIATION

The "Pacific Service" Employees' Association, composed entirely of employees of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, has completed an unusually successful season of activities for the first half of 1920.

The opening ceremonies for this year were held in San Francisco March 9th, when R. E. Fisher, president of the association, and his board of officers were introduced to a large gathering of members of the "Pacific Service" family. The program for the year was outlined at this meeting and the enthusiasm which greeted its announcement augured well for a successful season.

The out-of-town gathering held at Sacramento under the auspices of that district combined with the districts of Yolo and Solano, on March 20th, and the day following, went with a snap that resulted in considerable additions to the membership roll from that section of the "Pacific Service" territory.

Then, on March 22nd, came the Frolic at Oakland, in which District Manager Frank A. Leach and his corps of capable assistants established a record that will be hard to live up to, let alone surpass, in the seasons to come.

There followed another out-of-town gathering at Vallejo and Mare Island on April 10th under the auspices of Vallejo, Napa and former Contra Costa districts. This was held in wonderful weather and was delightful in every way.

The month of April was responsible for further additions to the record of successes. An expedition to Auburn and Lake Spaulding was pulled off on April 24th and 25th under the auspices of Placer, Drum and Nevada districts. Of the five hundred men and women who joined in this event it is safe to say that no one of them entertain any but the most delightful memories, including, as they must, the transition from the genial warmth of Auburn Valley to the snappy atmosphere of the snow region.

On April 27th came the first dramatic entertainment of the season when the "Pacific Service" Players' Club presented "Cupid in Khaki" before an unusually large and appreciative audience at Ebell Hall, Oakland.

On May 29th, 30th and 31st the association's out-of-town excursion program for the current season added another star to its record by the

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gathering at Chico and de Sabla in which the Chico, de Sabla, Northern and Coleman districts were joint hosts.

On June 17th the annual dinner was held at the Palace Hotel, San Francisco. This always delightful entertainment was distinguished this year by the presence of an unusually representative gathering of "Pacific Service" directors. A feature worthy of special remembrance was the address of E. O. Edgerton, president of the California State Railroad Commission.

The month of July was blank, save for meetings of the executive committee for the transaction of current business and for the arrangement of future activities.

The annual picnic was held on Saturday, August 21st, at Alum Rock Park, near San Jose, and reflected credit not only upon the managers of the San Jose and Redwood districts but went far toward proving that when "Pacific Service" Employees' Association, as a body, sets out upon a particular journey, it knows not only how to set a pace but how to keep that pace up. Committees in charge of the picnic program were well rewarded for their hard work when one and all pronounced it one of the most enjoyable excursions that the association has given thus far.

When the summer vacation period is over the fall program will be in order. Several attractive features are scheduled, including out-of-town excursions which will give members of the association an opportunity to see all that is worth seeing in the "Pacific Service" territory.

WATER CONSERVATION.

Water conservation is the keynote of a discussion now being conducted by water works men throughout the country.

Discussing "Water Waste Control," A. W. Cuddeback, engineer of the Passaic Water Company of Paterson, N. J., said recently:

"Metering is the surest and most effective way of controlling water waste and conserving the supply, and it is becoming increasingly more important year by year to conserve our water supply.

"The time is approaching when near-by supplies will be exhausted unless particular attention is paid to the elimination of all possible waste in the use of water.

"Instead of water being as free as air, the cost of it as delivered to the consumer is becoming greater and greater, and in order to avoid a greatly increased cost due to going far afield for our supply, we should pay more attention to the conservation of what we have in order that it may serve the communities for longer periods."

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THE FLAG.

By Henry Polk Lowenstein.

The silken banner gently floating in the breeze
And swiftly flying from the mast-tops on the
seas,

Is but the faintest symbol of that nameless flag,
That fires the prancing steed and stirs the jaded
nag;

That thrills the souls of men to dare to do great
deeds,

And soothes the pallid lips and binds the heart
that bleeds;

Moves armies on the land and navies on the sea,
And in the breast of man plants hope of victory.

The symbol's seen by eye and felt by finger tips,
The flag's the wond'rous Hope of the Apocalypse.
The symbol is the shadow soon to fade away,
The flag is lasting as the stars in the milky way.
The symbol's like the stupid figure on the board,
The flag's the living Rock, the great unspoken
Word.

The symbol's oft suspended from a gilded pole,
The flag is deeply rooted in the human soul.
The symbol's brightly colored red and white
and blue,

The flag reflects the spirit of God in me and you.
The symbol may be rent and perish on the sod,
The flag is sealed forever in the heart of God.

The flag is like a blessed angel sent from God,
Within her secret breast to bear His treasured
Word,

And in her folded arms to bring the souls of men
And on her gilded wings to take them back again.
It spreads its sacred folds out over land and sea,
And covers country, mother, home and liberty.
Its stripes of red and white and starry field of
blue

Is the only hope we have to make our dreams
come true.

Wave on, wave on, wave on, brave Flag, on land
and sea,

Wave on until "the world is safe for democracy!"
Wave on, wave on, wave on, wave on, Old Glory,
wave!

Wave on until each tyrant's in his lowly grave.

DEATHS.

The following members of San Francisco
unions died during the past week: Nelson
Church of the locomotive firemen, Jeremiah
O'Leary of the cement workers, Harold Wash-
burn of the laundry drivers, Walter E. Sullivan
of the electrical workers.

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THE HARRIS ACT.

While most folks thought that the prohibition issue was dead—at least legally—it appears that in California there is still a question as to whether or not old John Barleycorn has really departed this life. The liquor question is again to be voted on at the November election, when the people will be asked to decide if California is to be just nationally dry or doubly dry, by State and Federal laws.

Proposition No. 2 on the ballot at the general election is known as the Harris State Enforcement act. It was adopted by the Legislature which ratified the Eighteenth Amendment, but the wets succeeded in having it referred to the vote of the people before it becomes a law. The Harris act makes California—a trifle moist under the Volstead law—absolutely bone dry. The Harris act is designed to sew up any loopholes there may be in the Eighteenth Amendment. E. M. Sheehan, president of the California Grape Growers' Exchange, has written for the ballot the argument against the Harris act. He says that it will leave California high and dry on the rock of prohibition if Congress should ever decide to allow light wines and beers or any other modification of the Volstead law. This, he declares, would make California, which produces 90 per cent of the grapes of the United States, the laughing stock of her sister states.

TEAMSTERS ELECT DELEGATES.

Brotherhood of Teamsters No. 85 has elected delegates to the convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stable and Garage Employees, to be held in Cleveland next month, as follows: John Casey, T. Daley, J. Fredericks, T. Kehoe, J. P. McLaughlin, T. Ryan, J. Stewart, D. Sweeney, F. Walsh, T. Condon, M. D'Arcy.

The Brotherhood will be represented at the annual convention of the California State Federation of Labor at Fresno, the first week in November by the following delegates: James Wilson, Edward Fitzpatrick, M. O'Toole, W. Blundell, W. McShane.

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INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONDITIONS.

By Ernest Greenwood.

The announcement of the permanent organization and establishment of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations at Geneva, Switzerland, unfortunately closes (for the present at least) one of the most interesting and important chapters in the history of American organized labor. For it will be remembered that it was the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1914 which passed a resolution containing the first concrete suggestion of providing definite international government machinery for the improvement of working conditions. In 1916 European labor adopted the American proposal and appointed British, French, Italian and Belgian delegates as a committee to prepare a program for an international labor conference to be held at Leeds, England, the following July.

At the Leeds conference a resolution was passed which virtually demanded that any peace treaty terminating the war should contain a minimum of coalition, emigration, social insurance, hours of labor, hygiene and protection of labor. In August, 1918, Samuel Gompers undertook the leadership of a delegation to the countries of the Allied and associated powers and effectively advocated the program which the Federation had been urging since 1914 for an international labor conference in connection with the peace conference.

At the second plenary session of the Peace Conference on January 25, 1919, a resolution was passed providing for a commission "to inquire into the conditions of employment from the international aspect and to consider the international means necessary to secure common action on matters affecting conditions of employment, and to recommend the form of a permanent agency to continue such inquiry and considera-

tion in co-operation with and under the direction of the League of Nations."

Representatives of the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Cuba, Poland and the Czecho-Slovak Republic were appointed on this commission. Mr. Gompers was appointed president, the vice-presidents being the Right Honorable G. N. Barnes, M. P. of England, and Mr. Colliard of France. Arthur Fontaine, director general of French railways, was appointed general secretary and Harold B. Butler of England, assistant general secretary. This commission held thirty-five meetings and drew up its conclusions in two parts. The first part contained the provisions for the permanent international labor organization. This organization itself is divided into two parts, (1) the International Labor Conference, and (2) the International Labor Office controlled by a governing body.

The first meeting of the International Labor Conference was held in Washington, October and November, 1919. There were present 123 delegates, representing 40 nations. Of these 73 were government delegates, 25 were representatives of employers and 25 were representatives of workers. This conference adopted draft conventions (1) limiting the hours of work in industrial undertakings to eight in the day and forty-eight in the week, (2) concerning unemployment, (3) concerning the employment of women, (4) fixing the minimum age for the admission of children to industrial employment, and (5) concerning the night work of young persons employed in industry. It also adopted recommendations (1) concerning unemployment, (2) concerning reciprocity of treatment of foreign workers, (3) concerning the prevention of an-

thrax, (4) concerning the protection of women and children against lead poisoning, (5) concerning the establishment of government health services, and (6) concerning the application of the Berne convention of 1906 on the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

It will thus be seen that although the First International Labor Conference of Governments for the improvement of conditions of employment had to deal with innumerable perplexing problems of organization, it accomplished a seemingly impossible amount of constructive work.

Shortly after the Washington Conference the International Labor Office, which is the second part of the international labor organization, opened temporary headquarters at 7 Curzon street, London, England, under the control of a governing body of twenty-four members, twelve of whom represented governments, six represented employers and six represented workers. Since that time a second international conference has been held at Genoa for the purpose of applying the draft conventions and recommendations adopted by the Washington Conference to maritime pursuits. The International Labor Office now is established in its own building at Geneva, Switzerland, has effected its permanent organization and adopted a very comprehensive program of study and investigation leading to international legislation which will provide remedies for the industrial evils and injustices which have marred the state of society in the past.

The second part of the commission's conclusions is in the form of clauses containing declarations of principle in regard to a number of matters which are of vital importance to the



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labor world. These general principles are briefly (1) that labor should not be regarded as a commodity, (2) the right of association, (3) the payment of adequate wages, (4) the eight-hour day and the forty-eight hour week, (5) a weekly rest day of at least twenty-four hours, (6) abolition of child labor, (7) equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex, (8) labor legislation having due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers, and (9) an adequate system of inspection.

But the chapter is closed for the present insofar as organized labor of America is concerned. The refusal of the Senate to ratify the Treaty of Peace and the Covenant of the League of Nations under any terms prevents the United States from membership or official participation in the international labor organization.

It has been said that the international labor organization has nothing to offer American labor for the reason that American conditions of employment and American labor laws are of the highest standard in the world. This is not true. Even though conditions of employment may be better than those of any other country in the world, this does not mean that still further improvement is not desirable. Any improvements in the conditions in other countries must be beneficial to both American labor and American industry. An example of the benefits accruing to the American workman is the reduction of emigration of foreign workers due to a lessening of the differences between the opportunities in their own country and their opportunities in America. A good example of the benefits accruing to American industry is the reduction of competition with foreign goods manufactured in countries where wages are unusually low. It should also be remembered that the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labor is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries. This principle is set forth in Part XIII, which is the Labor Section of the Peace Treaty. The International Labor Office has a great deal to offer that is beneficial both to American labor and American industry, the nature of which will be discussed in future articles.

FOOD PRICES GOING UP.

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that from June 15th to July 15th of this year retail prices of food articles increased as follows:

Pork chops and eggs, 7 per cent each; sirloin steak and round steak, 6 per cent each; rolled oats and oranges, 5 per cent each; rib roast, chuck roast, ham, fresh milk, evaporated milk, and corn flakes, 3 per cent each; canned salmon, macaroni and raisins, 2 per cent each; plate beef, bacon, butter, bread, corn meal, navy beans, cabbage, baked beans, canned corn, tea and prunes, 1 per cent each.

The following price reductions are reported: Onions, 17 per cent; potatoes 14 per cent, hens, 2 per cent; lamb, cheese, lard, flour, rice and sugar, 1 per cent each.

For the seven-year period, July, 1913, to July, 1920, the retail price of sugar increased 382 per cent; potatoes increased 368 per cent; flour, 164 per cent; corn meal, 133 per cent; rice, 114 per cent; bread, 113 per cent; ham, 112 per cent; lamb, 109 per cent; hens, 107 per cent; pork chops, 101 per cent.

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SAN FRANCISCO

TYPOGRAPHICAL TOPICS.

This information, gleaned from Volume 1, No. 1, of the Union Printer, official organ of San Francisco Typographical Union No. 21, bearing date of August, 1888, may be of interest to the present generation of San Francisco printers, as well as those who were engaged in erecting the superstructure of our union in that day and who are still among the living. The officers of No. 21 at that time were: President, Andrew F. Smith; first vice-president, W. W. Shannon; second vice-president, Charles Mansfield; secretary, Thomas P. Baker; treasurer, James P. Olwell; sergeant-at-arms, W. A. Simpson; walking delegate, W. B. Benoist; executive committee—C. W. Otis (chairman), J. P. Hartnett, M. Monahan (secretary), John Collner, James Radford; cemetery committee, C. E. Backess (chairman), J. K. Phillips, W. A. Bushnell; state of trade committee, M. E. Atkins D. A. W. Ravenscroft, M. Lynch, W. A. Bushnell, E. W. Thurman, Jas. Henderson, Gustav Tesch; membership committee, W. P. Lenfesty (chairman), C. W. Baker, C. H. Parker (secretary), M. McGlynn, C. M. Jones, W. F. Edgar, C. J. Campbell; delegates to the Federated Trades, W. A. Bushnell, E. W. Thurman, J. K. Phillips, F. R. Starr, M. M. McGlynn. Among the honorary members were: William B. Allen, J. B. Baccus, Mrs. Sarah E. Backess, Miss M. S. Backess, Charles L. Crackbon, Mrs. Amanda Dallas, M. H. de Young, George K. Fitch, George Hearst, William R. Hearst, A. C. Heister, James A. Johnson, Fred K. Krauth, C. W. Neven, H. G. Parsons, Loring Pickering, Frank M. Pixley, Thomas J. Reed, Mrs. E. R. Stickney, William Saunders, John Timmins, J. P. Wiseman. The office of the secretary was at 606 Montgomery street. The office was open for the transaction of business from 12 to 2 p. m. every day except Sunday, and 5 to 6 p. m. on Saturdays. The total membership of the union at that time, according to the Union Printer, was 730. Regular meetings of the union were held the last Sunday in each month at 2 o'clock p. m. at Shiel's Building, 32 O'Farrell street. The union daily newspapers in San Francisco in 1888 were: The Alta, which had forty employees in its composing room, with Al Pennington chairman of the chapel; the Bulletin, forty-three employees, G. W. Alberti, chairman; the Call, eighty-three employees, J. J. Kerlin, chairman; the Chronicle, with a chapel roll of eighty-four members, Harry Rogers, chairman; the Examiner, ninety-seven members, C. E. Backess, chairman of the chapel; the Journal of Commerce, with a composing room force of ten journeymen printers, P. J. Haskins, chairman; the Post, 26 members, H. E. Bennett, chairman; the Report, with twenty-five members and J. J. Donnelly, chairman. An adjourned regular meeting of the union was held Sunday, August 5, 1888, at 32 O'Farrell street, when the question of the adoption of a constitution and a revised scale of prices was acted upon; also the adoption of the constitution and by-laws of the Allied Trades. The executive committee met in regular session the Friday before union meetings, at 6 p. m. Dr. J. Boushey, with offices at 1303 Mission St., was physician to the Union Printers' Mutual Aid Society.

Executive Committeeman Benjamin Schonhoff writes from Coalinga that, although his injured leg is still in bad shape, he was going to try to return to San Francisco soon. He reports the Fresno-Coalinga district was visited by a heavy rain and wind storm during his sojourn there, but that little damage was done by the storm.

Richard A. James, whose membership in the International Typographical Union dates from May, 1868, a period of fifty-two years, paid a

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social visit to the officers of the union last Friday. Mr. James, who is now in the eightieth year of his life and rugged and happy, is now residing in Alameda. In the early sixties he published the Evening Bulletin of Virginia City, and paid his compositors at the rate of \$1.00 per 1000 ems. Thirty years of Mr. James' printing career were spent on the old Evening Post of this city. His service with that paper began in 1872, the year in which it started. Mr. James pays regular visits to two well-known typos in San Francisco, "Ike" and "Tiny" Hinton, and it was when he was on one of these journeys from Alameda that he paused at the union rooms for an old-time session with the officers. He promised to call again in a few days. Welcome, Richard, and again welcome! We are always glad to play host and homage to trade unionists of your type.

Clarence S. Bruegger of the Daily News chapel, accompanied by Mrs. Bruegger, left for Sacramento Saturday night. At Sacramento they will be joined by Mr. Bruegger's brother, Clyde Bruegger, and proceed to northern California points in a machine for a two weeks' outing.

W. U. Bowen of the Recorder composing room has returned from Martinez, where he visited his mother, who is 81 years old and quite feeble.

The Printers' Board of Trade rejected an offer submitted by the book and job scale committee of No. 21, and at this writing indications are that the new demands of the union probably will have to be settled by a board of arbitration. Information has been received by the local committee that an award of \$51.00 and \$53.00 for hand compositors and \$52.40 and \$54.80 for machine operators, the differential between \$51.00 and \$53.00 and \$52.40 and \$54.80 being for day and night work, was made to the book and job printers of Chicago on the 25th of last month.

William S. Leslie, machinist on the Daily News, is viewing the beauties of Northern California from an automobile by day, and enjoying the life of a roadside camper by night. It will be at least two weeks before the "gang" on the News will have a chance to summon "Bill" to swipe out a "squirt" or start a distributor. Meantime, Mr. Leslie will forget there is such a thing as a Mergenthaler linecasting device.

Lynn Collins, who for a time had charge of the machines on the old Morning Call, is with us again. Mr. Collins left San Francisco seven years ago and went to Corning, Cal., where he engaged in ranching. He found ranching somewhat different from nursing typesetting machines, gave it up and accepted a position as engineer in the water works at Corning. Close confinement necessary to the filling of the engineer's job did not conduce to furthering Mr. Collins' usual good health, so he surrendered that job and assumed the office of superintendent of streets at Corning. Later he engaged as salesman of Fordson tractors. He is now a resident of Oakland, to which city his wife had preceded him a year before on account of poor health. Probability is that Mr. Collins will have his slip in one of the local sub-boards ere long. Collins is a mighty fine fellow, and all his San Francisco acquaintances are welcoming his return to this city.

M. T. Piersoll of the Daily News is on a tour of Southern California. Mr. Piersoll is accompanied by his wife and daughter. They will be absent from the city about two weeks.

Newspaper Scale Committeeman Harry G. Walters of the Bulletin chapel bid farewell to the fog of San Francisco Monday and went to Stockton, his old home, where he will spend a few days before going to Eagleville, Cal., on a deer hunting expedition. While on his vacation Mr. Walters will be accompanied by his wife, also his brother, Bert Walters, and his brother-in-law, Mr. C. W. Meyers, who will join the party at Stockton. Harry knows we're all fond of venison,

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but is sorry he can not accommodate us, as the law prohibits the shipping of deer meat, but not deer meat.

William B. Rutherford of the Argonaut composing room has returned to the scene of his livelihood from Stockton, where he had a few days' visit with his father, William Newton Rutherford, now 78 years of age. William Jr. made the round trip by steamer.

On August 25th the following notice was posted in the composing room of the Sunset Publishing House: "On and after September 1, 1920, Sunset Publishing House and Hicks-Judd Company will be owned and operated as one organization, with offices and plant at 460 Fourth street. The completion of installation and operating details will require some little time to work out, but when effected will give to San Francisco a printing and binding equipment second to none in the West; will concentrate under one roof and one management a volume of business that should admit of operating economies beneficial to owners and employees, and admit of a higher type of service for our customers. Your interests and mine are in a large measure identical. The strength and success of the enterprise will depend upon interdepartment harmony, loyalty and co-operation all of the time, and it is gratifying to me to believe that it is with that spirit we shall enter upon our new work. Very truly yours, J. H. Brady."

Wally Barron, the whisperweight printer of Butte, Mont., shimmied into town this week. Throughout the Northwest he is known as the "Stormy Petrel." A graduate of the old "square man" school, he is an authority on international law, and can set type around a billiard ball. He is working a stretch for Louis Borkheim on the Examiner, while Louis is representing No. 21 on the newspaper arbitration board. Mr. Barron will make a "hop-off" for the East about the middle of September.

Pacific Coast delegates and visitors to the recent convention of the International Typographical Union held in Albany, N. Y., who were fortunate enough to be numbered among the friends and acquaintances of Miss Goldie Collins and Herman Wynkoop were given elaborate entertainment by this hospitable pair during stopovers in Chicago while en route to and returning home from the convention. Both Miss Collins and Mr. Wynkoop are well known in San Francisco typographical circles, having been employed a number of years in the composing room of the Examiner. They decided to cast their lot in the Garden City, and left the city by the Golden Gate about a year ago. From a viewpoint of prosperity, the change of residence was a wise one, for when they arrived in Chicago they found the state of trade there excellent and took full advantage of their opportunities. Entertainment afforded the guests of Miss Collins and Mr. Wynkoop consisted of theater parties, visits to major league baseball games, luncheons, sightseeing tours and yacht cruises on Lake Michigan. San Francisco friends and acquaintances of Miss Collins and Mr. Wynkoop extend greetings and best wishes for their continued success in their newly chosen field of endeavor.

George S. ("Noisy") Bruner breezed in from Kansas City, Mo., last week and is showing on the night side of the Bulletin. Working at night and entertaining his numerous "pals" with stories of men and affairs in the busy town on the "Big Muddy" by day, Mr. Bruner may find it necessary to retire to the solitude of the hills to recover a vast amount of lost sleep. However, "Noisy" has become infatuated with San Francisco and her fascinating environs, and purposes to linger here indefinitely.

Selig Olcovich, who worked in Denver several years ago, but who has for the last eleven years been holding a situation on the San Francisco Chronicle, recently underwent an operation at Mercy Hospital in this city. He has fully re-

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covered, and intends slipping up on one of the Denver newspapers for a short period before going east.—Denver Labor Bulletin.

Claude K. Couse and Eugene Donovan, two of the four delegates sent by No. 21 to the I. T. U. convention in Albany, have returned, the latter arriving home last Saturday night. Mr. Donovan was preceded by Mr. Couse by nearly a week. "Gene" took the "long way around," stopping in Los Angeles and other Southern California cities en route. Both have resumed their work on the book and job scale committee of the union. Time of arrival of Messrs. Crawford and White is still uncertain.

ORPHEUM.

Emma Haig, delightful star of the dancing firmament, comes to headline the Orpheum bill Sunday. Miss Haig planted both of her swift moving feet square in the bull's-eye of public favor several seasons ago and has managed to keep them there ever since. In this instance, she brings an entirely new routine of steps, all welded into a merry dance series entitled "Play-time." Richard W. Keene and Mildred Brown are her associates in the act. Gifted with undisputed ability, magnetism and grace, Emma Haig has kept herself in constant favor by continually creating new dances. Declared to be "home run hitters in the game of song," Bob Nelson and Frank Cronin, comedians, will sing and converse in a skit entitled "Smiles." Their bit is so named for its effect on audiences. Jack Trainor will be seen in Jack Lait's new skit, "Help," based on the ludicrous points in the present labor shortage. The sketch is not intended to solve problems nor teach morals. Its purpose is to promote fun by the best methods of Jack Lait. Charles Kenna, who recognized the street fakir as excellent comedy material, will deliver his now famous gasoline torch monologue. Edward Marshall, eminent "chalkologist," will bring into play his faculty as a cartoonist, portrait painter and sketch artist. Marshall originally hailed from San Francisco. Toots Davis and Bert Chadwick, genuine black face comedy men, called the "jail house boys," and Challen and Keke, wireists, also are booked. Eddie Vogt in "The Love Shop," with Harry and Grace Ellsworth, the musical extravaganza of the current bill holds over.

VOCATIONAL CLASSES.

The sewing classes of the Labor Council Vocational Council will resume for the fall and winter term next Thursday evening at 7:30 o'clock in the Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp streets. Elementary English classes will meet each Monday evening at 7:30 o'clock. Instruction is free. In charge of the classes will be teachers from the Polytechnic High School, who are members of the San Francisco Federation of Teachers.

GRAND BALL.

The Photographic Workers' Union is to celebrate its first anniversary with a grand ball on the evening of September 25th. The committee on arrangements is now busy preparing a program, and it is the intention to have other forms of entertainment as well as dancing, though detailed arrangements have not yet been completed.

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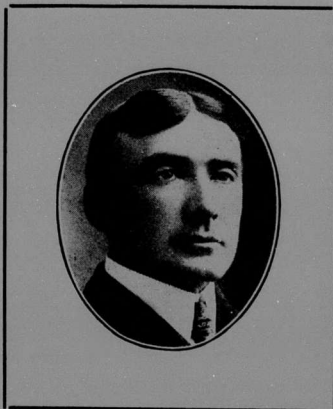
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Richmond Camp No. 470, Woodmen of the World, gave a dance last Friday night, August 27th, at Richmond Masonic Hall.

In spite of strenuous efforts made by the Musicians' Union, an orchestra of non-union musicians furnished the music. In a letter to the Musicians' Union, in reference to this employment of non-unionists, was this very beautiful sentiment: "Our Order is for the betterment of mankind, and believes in union principles."

In view of the fact that non-union music was used at the entertainment, some believe that the patriotic proclamation mentioned above must have been intended as a joke, or else, like many who frequently boast of certain principles, that these people "believe" in union principles, although they may not practice them. And yet it is said that Richmond Camp No. 470 has in its membership quite a number of union men from the Carmen's and other unions.

The reason given why union musicians were not employed, was, that the non-union men were members of the Order, and received no pay, which would hardly be in keeping with union principles (even if it were true), but, it is alleged, on the authority of members of the Order, that these "scab" musicians were not members of the Woodmen of the World, and furthermore, that they were hired for pay, at a rate far below the wage scale of the Musicians' Union. If this is the truth, Richmond Camp No. 470, Woodmen of the World, can hardly be said to be living up to its boasted union principles.

The Bible says: "Faith without works is dead," which means that to "believe" in a principle is to live it, and demonstrate it whenever the occasion demands it. Otherwise, it is simply an idle waste of words, which seems to have been exemplified on this occasion.

SUNDAY CLOSING ORDINANCE.

The Sunday closing ordinance now before the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco was unanimously approved by a combined meeting of Bethany Congregational and Trinity Presbyterian Churches recently, at Trinity Center, Twenty-third street, near Mission. There were numerous speeches in ardent support of the movement started by the Barber's Union, Local No. 485. There was some sentiment that it was hoped that the exceptions might be reduced so that a larger number of people might enjoy the day of rest. This vote, in addition to the recent rally conducted by Trinity Center, puts this enterprise in first line in the way of approving the Sunday closing movement.

ROSE RESIGNS.

A. C. Rose, well known in the labor movement, has resigned as president of Waiters' Union No. 30 on account of poor health. For the balance of the term C. F. Helbig, vice-president of the union will serve as president of the organization.

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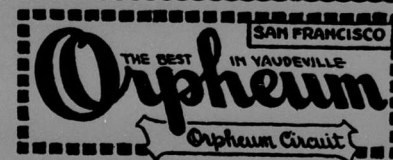
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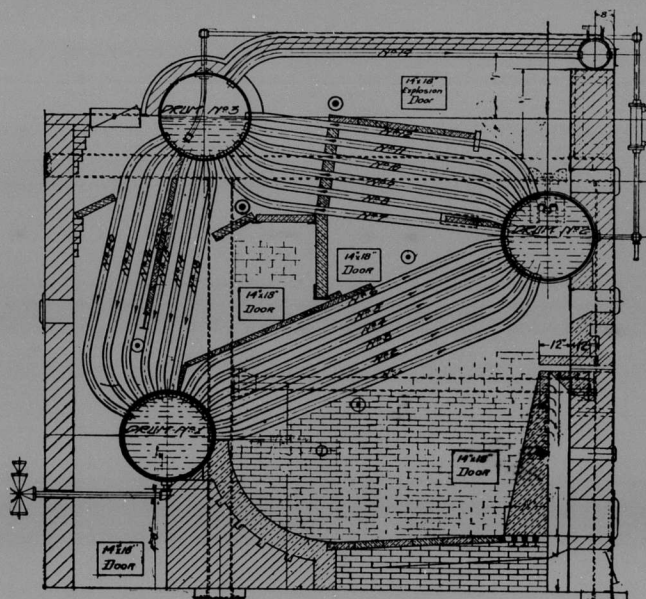
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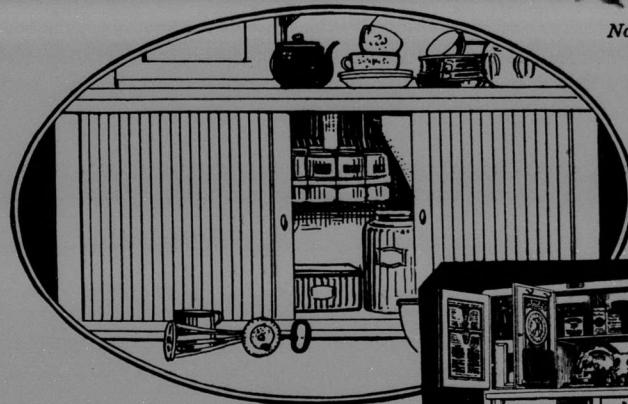
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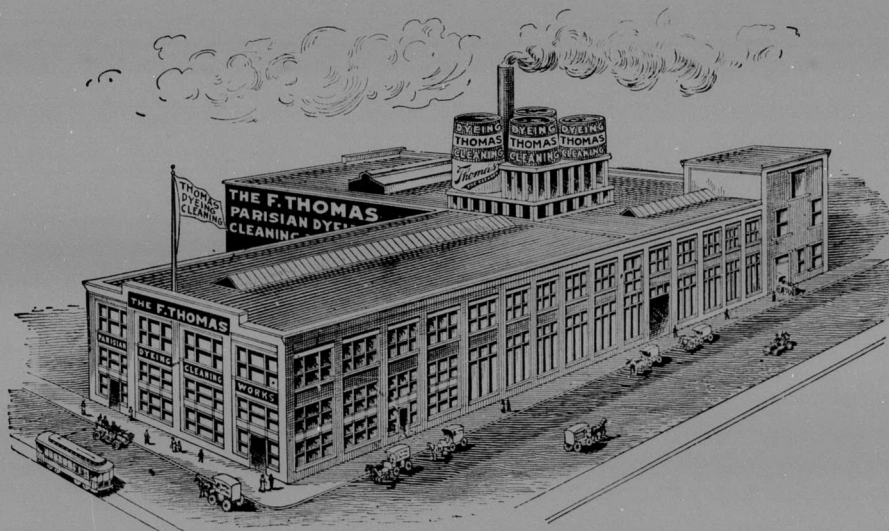
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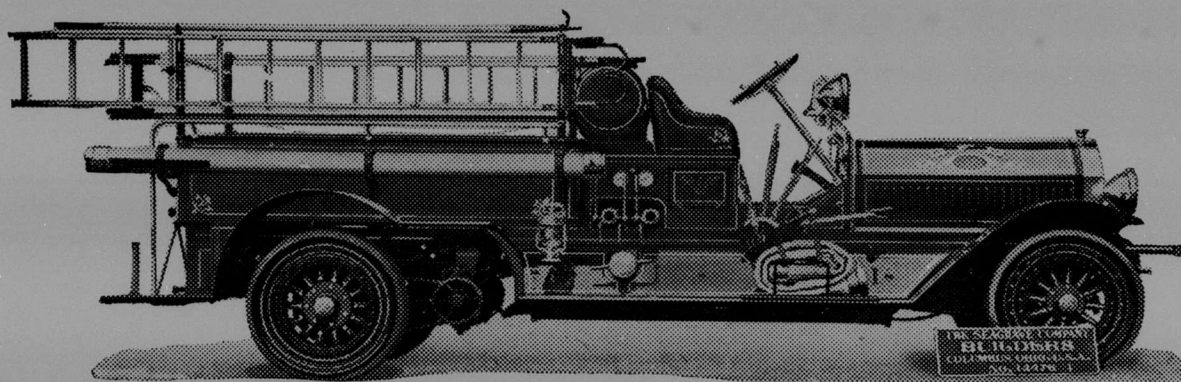
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